

THE
SATURDAY REVIEW
OR
POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

No. 1,220, Vol. 47.

March 15, 1879.

[Registered for
Transmission abroad.]

Price 6d.

SIR BARTLE FRERE'S EXPLANATIONS.

THE postponement of the discussion on the Zulu war till the arrival of the next despatches is the more unobjectionable because the debate can scarcely lead to any practical result. It is proper that Parliament should have the opportunity of delivering a judgment on past transactions; but there is no difference of opinion as to the necessity of bringing the war to a successful conclusion. It is not the time to enforce the responsibility which Sir BARTLE FRERE incurred when he forced the hand of the Government by the issue of a document which was equivalent to a declaration of war. At present he holds in his hand the threads of his own deliberate policy, and much confusion might arise if he were superseded in the middle of the war. The only ground on which the HIGH COMMISSIONER can be supposed to share the blame of the disaster of Isandula consists in his determination to undertake the conflict with forces which have now become insufficient; and this question again raises the general issue whether the war was necessary, just, and politic. The force of which the HIGH COMMISSIONER and the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF disposed at the outset of the campaign was unusually large, and there was no reason to expect that the Home Government would send further reinforcements. Sir BARTLE FRERE was entitled to assume that no body of troops would be exposed to the attack of irresistible numbers of the enemy; and, if it had been his business to consider military details, he might well believe that one thousand men properly intrenched could hold a camp until they were relieved against the whole Zulu army. Such a contingency as the advance of Colonel DURNFORD to meet a superior enemy some miles from his camp could not have entered into any previous calculation. There is no doubt that both Sir BARTLE FRERE and Lord CHELMSFORD considered victory certain, although they were aware that they might probably have to encounter unforeseen difficulties and delay. Sir BARTLE FRERE foresaw that, if peace were maintained for a few months, one or both of the regiments which had been sent to his aid would in all probability be recalled. He was consequently resolved to strike a blow while he could deliver it with most effect; and the time selected also enabled him to anticipate the harvest on which the enemy mainly depended for provisions. The report that CETEWAYO has profited by the affair of Isandula to send off his soldiers to gather in the crops, illustrates, if it is well founded, the importance of cutting off the Zulu supplies. If Sir BARTLE FRERE can justify the war on general grounds, he will probably be able to show that he has not committed any serious error of detail.

The latest collection of papers on the affairs of South Africa contains little additional information. In November last the HIGH COMMISSIONER, apparently for the purpose of procuring further charges against CETEWAYO, issued a circular letter to the missionaries in Zululand to inquire into the cases of native converts supposed to have been put to death on account of their religion. Three or four cases of the kind seem to be established; but Mr. OFREBRO, a Swedish missionary, explains that he and his colleagues had left the country, "not so much on account of the terrorism and tyranny prevailing there, to which we had long been accustomed, or for the direct killing and plundering which had taken place in our stations,

"as because of the decided hostile feelings of the Zulu KING and his great chiefs in regard to mission work, and their determination to stop it." These excellent and useful men nevertheless would not desert their posts until they were judiciously advised by Sir THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE to profit by the opportunity given by the KING himself of leaving the country. As the few converts who were killed were accused of witchcraft, it is only a matter of conjecture that their real offence consisted in listening to the missionaries. There is no doubt that CETEWAYO had determined to put a stop to proselytism. In the spirit of a celebrated Gothic chieftain, he profanely told Mr. OFREBRO that he would rather "side with SATAN and go to hell than allow the Christianizing of his people." His objections to the true faith were probably like those of the persecuting Roman Emperors, rather political than religious or anti-religious. A converted Zulu becomes unavoidably denationalized, if an African tribe can be called a nation. He must necessarily dissent from many national customs, which, indeed, he in some respects openly violates. One of CETEWAYO's chiefs expressed the KING's new policy in the announcement that the catechumens should "have their trousers pulled off," or, in other words, that they should no longer wear the costume of which the use is properly enforced by the missionaries. CETEWAYO's calculated intolerance may be favourably compared with that of many potentates recorded in history. If he allowed a few converts to be "smelted out" or denounced by witch-doctors, he gave the departing missionaries a safe-conduct. With the present laws and general administration of Zululand the English authorities had little concern. It may be doubted whether Christianity will be strongly recommended to the Zulus by the invasion of their country.

A correspondence between Sir BARTLE FRERE and Bishop COLENSO is almost entirely occupied with a controversy on the effect of the late territorial award. The BISHOP contends that the reservation of the rights of the Dutch settlers to land in the ceded district would deprive the Zulus of all the substantial benefit which was ostensibly conferred by the acknowledgment of their rights. CETEWAYO well knows that his theoretical sovereignty would be purely imaginary if he attempted to assert it against the foreigners. Bishop COLENSO therefore maintains that the Boers ought to receive compensation in land or money, but that they should be compelled to evacuate the territory. On the other hand, Sir BARTLE FRERE declares that few things are of greater importance "than to teach all in South Africa the distinction between sovereign and private rights." The lesson is the more necessary because the distinction is little understood by the English colonists, and not at all by the Dutch. It may be added that a legal refinement which is still so obscure is not likely to be appreciated by the Zulus. When CETEWAYO referred the dispute to arbitration, he certainly understood that an award in his favour would secure to him a valuable property, and not merely a barren jurisdiction, which indeed could not be exercised. The discussion has already become obsolete; for war supersedes territorial awards as well as more elaborate compacts. In the event of ultimate victory, which may be confidently expected, CETEWAYO will no longer possess even nominal sovereignty over the debatable land. It would seem that the Boers of the Transvaal, who will profit by the abolition of his title, are not at present dis-

posed to take part in a war which so nearly affects them. They have much reason to congratulate themselves on the annexation which has imposed on the English instead of on themselves the burden of a Zulu war. If CETEWAYO could have insured the neutrality of Natal, he would probably long since have invaded the Transvaal; and it is by no means certain that the enterprise might not have been successful. When the Boers find that their warlike neighbour has ceased to be formidable, they will perhaps be less willing than before to submit to English sovereignty, which will have ceased to be necessary for their protection.

An elaborate despatch of the HIGH COMMISSIONER to the SECRETARY OF STATE, dated January 24, contains little that is new. The misdeeds of CETEWAYO's predecessors, and the military organization which they founded, are once more described; and in an odd burst of rhetorical excitement Sir BARTLE FRERE declares that CETEWAYO's regulations "are directed to forming every young man in Zulu-land into a celibate man-destroying gladiator." The Zulus are neither more nor less gladiators than soldiers of every other country; but it cannot be denied that, like almost all soldiers, they are unmarried, and that the profession of arms has for its main object the slaughter of men. Some thousands of celibate English gladiators are now on the seas for the purpose of destroying as many Zulu men as they may meet in the field. On the Continent of Europe statesmen compete with one another in their efforts to form every young man into a celibate man-destroying gladiator; but universal liability to military service is not supposed to furnish neighbouring States with a lawful cause of war. The substance of Sir BARTLE FRERE's defence of his warlike policy is already known; but an inroad, which he calls murderous, into the Transvaal territory north of the Pongolo is recounted as one of the provocations offered by CETEWAYO. The seizure of the refugee women and the temporary detention of two English surveyors, whose errand greatly resembled the proceedings of spies, are the only other offences charged against the Zulu KING. The raid into the Transvaal was executed by one UMBELINI, whom Sir BARTLE FRERE calls a *protégé* of CETEWAYO, and the sufferers were certain Swayis, who were "presumably British subjects." The real explanation of Sir BARTLE FRERE's decision is given in one short paragraph. "Such being the position of affairs on the Zulu border, what security, I would ask, can our subjects possess unless a force as large or larger than that now in South Africa be constantly kept on the border? I would further ask what right has this ruler CETEWAYO to require us to keep up any force whatever for any purpose save those of internal police?" The application of the same rule to European Powers would involve immediate and general war. What right has France to compel Germany, or Germany to compel France, to keep up any force whatever except for purposes of internal police? It is true that CETEWAYO is a barbarian who is capable of making war without provocation if he thought it conducive to his interest; but he has reigned and maintained his present institutions for five or six years without making or even threatening war with any English possession. It is possible that he may lately have changed his policy, but Sir BARTLE FRERE gives no evidence of any novel danger. It is still possible that Sir BARTLE FRERE may have been in the right; but his apology is thus far insufficient.

EGYPT AND THE CONTROLLING POWERS.

THE intervention of the English Government in the affairs of Egypt formed a proper subject for discussion in the House of Commons. It is right that Parliament should know what are the intentions and objects of the Government when the power and influence of England are used to control the chief of a foreign State. The object of the English Government is to prevent anarchy in Egypt. It is not, and cannot be, a matter of indifference to England that a country which has to pay, not private persons, but our Government itself, half a million a year, and through which our highway to India lies, should be in danger of anarchy. Further, as France would certainly not permit anarchy to continue in Egypt, both because the pecuniary interests of Frenchmen in Egypt are very large and because it is part of the traditional policy of France to consider the guardianship of Egypt as more or less vested

in her, anarchy in Egypt would force us either to see France occupying Egypt without us, or to join in occupying it with her; and, in either case, the cords of an alliance which we highly value would be rudely strained. In order to prevent anarchy we, therefore, join France in trying to prevent it. It is thus by a sort of accident that we are impelled to intervene in Egypt, and it is also by a sort of accident that we are able to intervene up to a certain point without much difficulty. In Egypt there is no spirited population to writh under foreign control, there is no conquering race or ruling caste to terrify or subdue; the reigning PASHA in Egypt is Egypt, and we have to deal with one man. With that man we are able to deal because France and England could any day send him into exile. But we do not wish to dethrone him, as any violent step might at least temporarily increase insecurity in Egypt, because disputes with other Powers might arise, and because we could do no more than get another Pasha with whom to deal, and we may as well try what we can do with the PASHA we have got. The present aim of the two Governments is to make the PASHA whom we have found there do as well as he is capable of doing. There is no kind of parallel between the state of things in Egypt and that in Turkey. We may wish for reforms in Turkey, but we are utterly powerless to enforce them. We can do no more than beg the Turks to be good; and, if they do not wish to be good, we can only tell them we are very sorry they prefer being bad, and then, if they reply that they do not much care about our being morally in an unhappy and dejected state, there is no more to say. Our interference in Egypt is justified not only by our special political interests, but by our special political power.

The nature of the control which we have exercised over Egypt has naturally been determined by the circumstances under which it has arisen. The country was overloaded with a vast debt due to foreigners, the people were grievously oppressed, and the administration was very bad. Its badness, apart from its oppressiveness, chiefly lay in two things. Every official put in his pocket a little money for which he did not account, and the KHEDIVE put, or was supposed to put, in his pocket a great deal of money for which he did not account. Secondly, the KHEDIVE had got into his hands a very large part of the best land of Egypt, and the people, instead of owning or leasing this portion, had to cultivate it in such manner as was required of them. Half this land has been taken from the KHEDIVE, and will gradually be sold and the proceeds applied to the payment of pressing debts. The other half is still cultivated under the KHEDIVE's directions, but under special European control. The revenue of Egypt was known to be obtained in some degree by oppression, and appropriated in some degree to secret payments. The controlling Powers, in order to introduce a real reform, had to ascertain how much the people paid, and where the money went. Large sums were paid to the foreign bondholders, and large sums were spent in administration; but there was supposed to be a balance over, of which no account was given. It is this unascertained balance which has been the bone of contention between the controlling Powers, the KHEDIVE, his creditors, and philanthropic travellers. If the pressure of taxation had been lessened, the fellahs would have been benefited, the KHEDIVE would have been pleased, as there is no satisfaction even to the most atrocious tyrant in wringing money out of his subjects to give it to foreigners, and the creditors would have had nothing to say if Egypt had paid them all that it had got to pay them with. But there was the unascertained balance, and the creditors were naturally indignant that this should not come to them. It was a question, not between them and the taxpayers, but between them and the KHEDIVE. The controlling Powers being able to deal with the head of the State, began with him. As Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE informed the House, they made him pay the last May coupon because they found him able to spend money on totally unnecessary objects. When November came a loan had been raised on the lands ceded by the KHEDIVE, and it was thought fair that a certain portion of the proceeds should be given to the bondholders. As the land was taken away from the KHEDIVE to pay his debts, this was merely an allotment of one part of what was thus obtained to a special set of creditors, and perhaps they did not get more than was due to them. One step more had to be taken. It was necessary to determine the proper cost of an economical

administration. The country must be governed before the creditors can claim anything. Having stopped the misappropriation of secret balances, and settled the cost of the administration, the controlling Powers are now determining how much, after the remission of unjust and oppressive taxation, will remain for the creditors. It is quite certain that the creditors cannot be paid immediately in full. Which set of creditors is to suffer, and how great is to be the extent of their suffering, is one of the main questions which now occupy the minds of those with whom the conduct of Egyptian affairs rests.

The proper determination of this question compels the controlling Powers to consider and face very grave difficulties. The gravest of all, perhaps, is the meaning and value of this control itself. The KHEDIVE insists that it is meant to be nothing more than it is asserted to be. It is the control of a Pasha. Although there is the control, there is also the Pasha. The KHEDIVE is an Oriental prince, and all that the controlling Powers can ask is that he shall be the best of Oriental princes. It is he that must govern, and it is his European advisers who must teach him how to govern well. The government of Egypt by an Armenian foreigner is not government by a Turkish Pasha at all, but a totally different government, and one which the controlling Powers have never claimed their right to establish. He speculates, and with very good ground for his speculation, that, although he would be dethroned for being a bad Pasha, he will never be dethroned for asking to show that he can be a good Pasha. The English Government at least does not seem inclined to contest that he is theoretically right. But let us suppose that the good Pasha and the wise advisers are of one mind as to what payments can be properly made to the creditors, how are they to proceed? They are immediately confronted with the second limitation to the controlling power of England and France. They find the International Tribunals in their way. By the institution of these tribunals the legislative power of the controlled Pasha was taken away. An arrangement may be necessary and good; but it has no legal validity unless the numerous Powers who have treaty rights to uphold the Code exactly as it is will consent. They have no motive to consent, and, on the contrary, many of them enjoy an opportunity of thwarting England and France in a manner which affords no ground of complaint. A proposal was lately made for giving legal validity to an arrangement by which the bondholders and the holders of the floating debt were to submit to a specified reduction. It was in vain that the representatives of England and France urged this proposal. The representatives of the other Powers would not listen to it. Nothing remains except to keep the holders of the floating debt waiting, and to pay as much of the May coupon of the Unified Debt as the KHEDIVE and his advisers think can be paid, and no more. This opens the field to boundless litigation, and the Code gives the tribunals enormous powers against the Government, which cannot practically be enforced, but which any one of the States with which the treaties establishing the tribunals were made may claim to see enforced if it pleases. Until the time arrives, which it will do before long, when these treaties will expire, there is no remedy for this state of things. Meanwhile the controlling Powers must do the best they can, although nothing they can do will be very satisfactory; and after reclaiming a vast area of land for the use of the people, making their PASHA undertake to be a good Pasha, stopping secret misapplications of the revenue, and seeing that the creditors are not wilfully defrauded, they may now turn their attention to the wretched peasants, and sanction a considerable remission of taxation.

THE IMPEACHMENT DEBATE.

THE Report of the Impeachment Committee seems to have excited more surprise in England than in France. This is owing in part to the fact that Englishmen have very much forgotten the 16th of May, and that the designs which were freely attributed to its authors when they were in power now appear almost incredible in their perverse daring. In part also it is due to the fact that more was known about those designs in France than was proclaimed at the time. It is more than probable that the reaction-

ary cause had many traitors in the camp, and that there was little, if any, exaggeration in the statement that M. GAMBETTA knew what was going on in the army, at least as well as the conspirators who looked to that army to carry out their plans. This seems to be the explanation of the very general complaint that M. BRISSON's Report discloses nothing new. Considering that it shows that in December 1877 the life of the Republic seemed likely to be measured by days, and that Marshal MACMAHON was plainly meditating an enterprise which would almost certainly have plunged the country into a civil war of the most terrible and degrading kind, the Report may hardly seem to be open to this charge. But, in the sense in which those who utter the complaint use the words, it is probably true. The Committee have got at nothing which they did not know before, or suspect with so much reason as almost to amount to knowledge. What they hoped, perhaps, to discover was some evidence of the use to which the projected *coup d'état* was to be turned. It would have been a useful party weapon if they could have shown that a plan had been laid for restoring one or other of the monarchical pretenders; but, if any such plan was in existence, no evidence of it seems to have been left behind when those who framed it retired from office. There can be little doubt that this sense of listening to an old story has helped to give M. WADDINGTON the considerable majority which he obtained on Thursday. If there had been anything in the nature of a fresh surprise for the Chamber, the unexpected interest of a new revelation might have been too much for the prudence of the deputies. As it was, they were spared this temptation; and they were consequently able, after a few days' reflection, to see that nothing was to be gained by pushing the matter any further.

When they came to ask themselves whether they should vote with M. BRISSON or M. WADDINGTON, the Chamber could hardly fail to be impressed with the certainty that, whatever might be the propriety of going on with the impeachment, supposing the question to stand entirely on its own merits, it would involve a change of Ministry. It is natural, no doubt, that the Left should regard this contingency as not in itself a thing to be dreaded. Englishmen, who see that France now possesses a sensible, moderate Cabinet which wishes to give the country time to look after its material interests, are disposed to wonder at the folly of the Left in wishing to change so desirable a state of things. They forget that, however excellent the present Ministry may be, it has, in the eyes of a great number of its nominal supporters, the very serious defect of being a great deal more Left Centre than Left. The Left Centre has always been of opinion that it constitutes a kind of ruling caste in the Republican party, and that its true function in the State is to provide Ministers for the Left to keep in office. It is an excellent arrangement for the country, so long as the Left can be persuaded to fall in with it; but it is hardly one which they can be expected to fall in with any longer than they find necessary. In the present case, however, it may well have struck them as doubtful whether as yet they can help falling in with it. When the DUFRAUER Ministry was in peril some weeks ago, the feeling of the electors is said to have been unmistakably manifested in its favour; and it is probable that, if M. WADDINGTON had been beaten on Thursday, and had consequently retired from office, much the same dissatisfaction would have been aroused in the country. Nor is it by any means certain that the deputies who voted against the Government would have been left to learn this by private representations. The President and the Senate can dissolve the Chamber; and it seems likely that, if M. GRÉVY suggested a dissolution, the Senate under the circumstances would not withhold their consent. Though there has been no great debate to test the temper of the newly elected Senators, it is believed to be more moderate than that of the corresponding party in the Chamber of Deputies; and if the feeling of the country were at all decided upon any question, the Senators would have to consider the chances of their own re-election. A dissolution at the present time would have many points of interest about it. It would give the first opportunity which Frenchmen have enjoyed since the Republic was set up of declaring upon what principles they wish the Republic to be administered. Hitherto at every election one and the same issue has been submitted to the electors under different names.

They have always known that the only parties really in the field were the Republicans and the Monarchs, and the single aim of those who wished to see the Republican party victorious was to ascertain which Republican candidate was most likely to win. When this feeling is widely diffused in a party it naturally benefits the most extreme section of it. If ninety per cent. of the Republican voters care only to see the form of government settled in the way they wish, they will be disposed to accept the candidate put forward by the remaining ten per cent., provided that this remainder will vote for its own candidate and for no other. If M. GRÉVY were allowed to dissolve the Chamber on the occasion of a defeat of M. WADDINGTON, the issue presented would be quite distinct from the former one. The electors would have to say, not whether they wanted a Republic or a Monarchy, but whether they wanted a Republic governed by M. WADDINGTON or a Republic governed by M. CLÉMENCEAU. Without in the least attempting to prejudge what the answer given to this question would be, it is plain that it is an entirely new question; and we do not know that the Left have any decided reason to suppose that it would be answered in the way they would like. If they have no decided reason to suppose this, they will naturally infer that a Cabinet which tempts a dissolution has some grounds for its confidence that it will be stronger after a general election than it is now; and in that case it will obviously be wise not to provoke a general election until more has been done to bring the Ministry into discredit.

These considerations go far to explain the breakdown of the impeachment in the Chamber of Deputies. Nor perhaps were the contents of the Report of the kind best adapted to prevent that breakdown. If, indeed, the Ministries of the 16th of May and the 23rd of November had been identical, and the Duke de BROGLIE had been plainly responsible for the acts of General ROCHEBOUET, the case might have been different. The communications between General ROCHEBOUET and General DUCROT before the former took office, and those between the MINISTER OF WAR and the military authorities in the provinces after the Ministry was formed, show undoubtedly that a *coup d'état* was in contemplation; that General ROCHEBOUET was made Minister for the express purpose of carrying it out; and that only the hesitation of Marshal MACMAHON prevented the attempt from being made. But then nobody cares about impeaching General ROCHEBOUET, if he and his colleagues are to be placed at the bar of the Senate alone. The only object of bringing them to trial would be to show that the Duke de BROGLIE and M. de FOURET were partakers of their sins. But this would not be at all an easy thing to show. All that the authors of the Report are in a position to say is that the Duke de BROGLIE resigned office when it appeared that the Senate would not countenance a second dissolution. This, by itself, might be taken to show that he was not prepared to resort to any stronger measures than those of which he had already made trial. The Report tries to connect him with what followed by putting the inquiry—"Was it the Duke de BROGLIE, the chief of the retiring Cabinet, who gave the PRESIDENT of the REPUBLIC the advice to summon M. de ROCHEBOUET?" But to this inquiry the Report supplies no answer. All that it says is that the preliminary inquiry will doubtless clear up this point. In other words, the impeachment, as regards the Duke de BROGLIE, would have been merely a fishing impeachment—an impeachment undertaken in the hope that it might bring to light materials on which to found charges which in the interval would have to have been made without materials. It is far from clear, therefore, that the prosecution of the impeachment might not have done more good than harm to the men against whom it would have been directed. If the Senate had acted as a real court of justice, had given the prisoners the benefit of every doubt that could fairly be suggested by their counsel, and had returned a verdict as free from political bias as though it had been an ordinary jury trying an ordinary offender, the result might have been an acquittal. If, on the other hand, a conviction had plainly been arrived at on extra-judicial grounds, and the unseemly spectacle of reckoning up the votes of the judges beforehand, which brought so much discredit on the United States Senate in the JOHNSON impeachment case, had been witnessed in France, the Duke de BROGLIE and General ROCHEBOUET might have become the objects of sympathy rather than of condemna-

tion. When all this came to be remembered, good sense, as well as the safety of their seats, must have counselled the moderate Left not to upset the Government in order to obtain such a doubtful advantage.

CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFICULTIES IN VICTORIA.

BEFORE the arrival of the delegates from the Legislative Assembly of Victoria Sir M. H. BEACH had placed on record his opinion that their application was premature. It may perhaps be expedient to reconsider the rejection of an opportunity for mediation which may possibly not recur. The language used in the debates at Melbourne has not been uniformly as moderate and loyal as the official documents which are submitted to the Colonial Office, and one at least of the delegates is a practised and successful agitator. It is not desirable that Mr. BERRY should, on his return, have an excuse for assuring his followers that the Imperial Government is too much occupied with domestic and foreign politics to attend to the difficulties of a great and rising colony. Nothing could be easier than to explain to the delegates that their contention is legally inadmissible, and that in their long conflict with the Legislative Council they have been technically in the wrong. The fact remains that the Assembly and the Ministry represent the numerical majority and the physical force of the colony; and that they will not shrink even from the extreme course of secession rather than abandon their demands. It unfortunately happens that the lines of social stratification coincide with political divisions. The owners of property and the large merchants return the Council and support its policy; while the Assembly is composed of professional men, of tradesmen, and of other members of the middle class. The Assembly is elected by universal suffrage; but Mr. BERRY states that five-sixths of the electors are ratepayers, and he adds that "the two great safeguards of society, 'education and the possession of property, are perhaps 'more generally diffused in Victoria than in any country 'in the world." The Council is elected by ratepayers of 50*l.* and upwards, by freeholders and leaseholders, and the whole number of voters is about thirty thousand, out of a population of three-quarters of a million. In the last Session the Council passed a Bill to reduce the qualification by one-half; but the Assembly rejected the measure, probably because it would have strengthened the Council by giving it a more popular basis, as it would have raised the members of the constituency above 50,000. The Assembly and its constituents, having resolved to become supreme and absolute, correctly judge that any constitutional power exercised by the minority must reproduce in some form the deadlocks which have become chronic or periodical in Victoria.

The pure democracy which the Assembly proposes to establish differs far more widely from the American Constitution than the American Constitution from the English. The Council would, according to Mr. BERRY's scheme, enjoy none of the powers of the Senate; and the Governor, unlike the President, is so far from possessing a veto that he already incurs the risk of an insulting rebuff if he ventures humbly to offer advice to his Ministers. Even Sir GEORGE BOWEN's studious submission to the dominant party failed to secure him from occasional affronts, though he generally earned the condescending approval of the Cabinet. After the Ministers had dismissed all the County Court Judges, Chairmen of Sessions, and other judicial officers of the second rank, they so far reconsidered their violent course as to restore a certain number to their places. As the dismissal was intended merely for the purpose of exciting popular opinion against the Council, the GOVERNOR not unnaturally proposed that all the officers should be reinstated. In refusing their consent, the Ministers thought it necessary "to guard themselves against the 'possibility of seeming to concur with any interference 'with the due course of responsible government." They therefore observed "that the mode of dealing with the 'Civil Service of Victoria is purely a matter of Vic-torian concern, and consequently that Ministers have 'the exclusive right of dealing with it on their own 'responsibility." Although the Constitution was avowedly framed as far as possible on the English model, and although the Ministers, in the controversy between the two branches of the Legislature, frequently refer to the

practice of the Houses of the English Parliament, the Ministers have utterly abandoned the forms of intercourse which prevail between the English Cabinet and the Crown. Instead of submitting their advice to the Governor, they announce their decision, and, as in the instance which has been cited, they reject the mild form of personal government which consists in a modest suggestion. Sir M. H. BEACH has more than once been obliged to check impudent objections to his conduct in receiving memorials or deputations from colonists who think themselves aggrieved by the proceedings of the Ministry.

It was undoubtedly wise to transfer Sir G. BOWEN to another post. His laboured apology fails to show that he had not made himself a partisan. In one of his latest public despatches he improperly sneers at a formal statement by the Council of their case against the Assembly by describing it as a "manifesto." If he had no power to limit the pretensions of his Ministers, he was bound to treat one of two co-ordinate branches of the Legislature with official respect. It is true that, as he frequently remarks in his despatches, the position of a Governor in a colony where there is a Parliamentary Ministry is in the highest degree embarrassing; and it may be added that Mr. BERRY and his colleagues must be among the most troublesome and impracticable of advisers. Sir G. BOWEN was anxious to be neutral and passive; but he was naturally annoyed by the incessant conflict between the Council and the Assembly. As a cultivated Englishman, he must have thought that in disputed questions of policy the Council was generally in the right, and he may perhaps have appreciated its prudence and patriotism in repeatedly deferring to popular prejudice. The Council, according to its own statement, has against its own judgment "surrendered Free-trade. It has conceded the abolition of State aid to religion. It has permitted the sacrifice of that great public estate with which HER MAJESTY's bounty had endowed the colony. It has allowed a partial and unjust land-tax to be imposed on 'one section of its own constituents.' Nevertheless Sir G. BOWEN probably thought, not without reason, that the only termination of political, as of domestic, quarrels is for the weaker to give way. The Assembly will, in default of a change in the Constitution, continue wrongfully to tack legislative measures to Appropriation Bills, and the Council cannot perpetually throw the affairs of the colony into confusion by refusing to pass Appropriation Bills which it cannot amend. In one despatch Sir G. BOWEN recommends a constitutional modification which may perhaps furnish a solution of the difficulty. A Council nominated by the Crown seems at first sight a less popular institution than the existing Council of Victoria, which is elected by the wealthier part of the community; but a Council of nominees might be less disposed to stand on its extreme rights, and in case of need its numbers, like those of the House of Lords, might be increased for the purpose of preventing a collision. In Canada, and in some of the other great colonies, the Council is appointed by the Crown.

The latest exposition of the case of the Assembly is moderate and conciliatory in its tone, though none of its former demands are withdrawn. Mr. BERRY, who signs the Memorandum, says with undeniable truth that "a second House can never oppose itself as a barrier to 'strong popular excitement. It is either itself carried away, or it is intimidated.' The proposition is not applicable to the American Senate, which is more powerful than the House of Representatives, but it may be accepted in the case of England and English colonies. Mr. BERRY adds that "both counsel and delay will be most readily acquiesced in when it is known that resistance cannot be eternal." His present proposal may perhaps admit of modification, if only the power of the Council to withhold its assent to Bills is made provisional and temporary. According to the scheme of the Assembly, Bills of which the primary object is, in the judgment of the Assembly, taxation or appropriation are not to need the assent of the Council. Mr. BERRY declares that no one desires to perpetuate the system of tacking on irrelevant matter to an Appropriation Bill; and if the veto of the Council were made temporary, there could be no excuse for the continuance of a vicious fiction. The only compensation which is offered to the Council for the surrender of its independent powers is the offer of a larger share in administration by the inclusion of some of its members in the Cabinet. "So long as the entire and un-

divided Council discharges the functions which of right belong to the Opposition in the Assembly, and no other, so long will it be difficult or impossible for any Cabinet to associate members of the Council with itself." It is unfortunately but too evident that the representatives of the minority will never agree with the nominees of universal suffrage. A Council appointed by the Crown would have the advantage of not disclosing the helplessness of the upper and middle classes under a pure democracy. Ratepayers of fifty pounds and upwards seem to be unanimous on one side, and the multitude which cannot be resisted is unanimous on the other. The submission of the weaker and wiser portion of the community is inevitable; and, on the whole, it is well that political institutions should represent the balance of forces. As a mediator, Sir M. H. BEACH may perhaps do good service to the colony by persuading the weaker party to yield; and the substitution of a nominated Council for the present system might both disguise the defeat of the minority and prevent its recurrence. The triumph of universal suffrage is not a pleasant subject of contemplation, but it is better that it should be achieved by concession under some pretext of compromise than by open violence.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION.

THE debate and division on Sir WILFRID LAWSON'S Resolution were not significant of any change of opinion in the House or in the nation on the liquor question. Parties, as parties, have no conviction any way which they use their strength to enforce, and no party leader has any serious proposal to make. A larger number supported the Resolution than would have supported Sir WILFRID LAWSON'S usual Permissive Bill, because the Resolution was so vague that no one was afraid that in voting for it he could be held to have voted for anything in particular. There was no gain to any one in such a Resolution being proposed and discussed, except to record the opinion that drunkenness is a great evil, and to make it plainer than ever how immense are the difficulties of suppressing it by legislation. The general effect of the Resolution was that new legislation should be devised, having what is termed local option as its basis. So far as this means anything, it means that the residents in localities to be somehow determined are in some unknown way to be able to do something indefinite towards controlling the sale of liquor. This so charmed Mr. FORSTER and Mr. BRIGHT that they voted for the Resolution. Lord HARTINGTON, on the other hand, having a sense of statesmanship, denounced the vanity of such a Resolution. Parliament, if it is to use the time it loves to waste, must debate about something, and there was nothing in the Resolution to debate about. A Resolution is a very useful mode of proceeding when it affirms what ought to be done, and leaves it open to the Government to say how it ought to be done. If the Resolution had been to the effect that all public-houses should be closed from a certain day, but that proper compensation should be given to existing publicans, the objection to it would have been one of substance only, and not of form. But a Resolution that there should be "local option" of some kind and in some way had no meaning. It might mean fifty things, as to none of which those who tried to believe that they could seem to believe in local option would agree. Local option may mean that the ratepayers or the inhabitants generally of each parish should vote whether there should be no public-houses in it or twice as many as now. Or it might mean that things should go on as at present, but that the persons to grant licences should be elected; or it might mean that the magistrates should grant licences, but that they should act in conjunction with assessors chosen by a popular vote. Numberless other suggestions might be made as to its possible meaning, and each possible meaning would in turn be open to innumerable objections. Possibly there might be discovered some form of local option which would be an improvement on the present system; but no one can say that this is so until a definite proposal which happens to hit the mark is made. To the only proposals for a local option which have been hitherto made there are objections of the gravest character. Direct voting on the question of beer or no beer would carry bitterness and turmoil into

every parish; and local elections held for other purposes would be spoilt and corrupted if the decision as to the quantity of beer to be sold in a parish was remitted to such humble officials as the Guardians of the poor.

One member alone was found to support the extreme opinion that the present system is perfect, and that Parliament should never again meddle with so beautiful and admirable an arrangement. Both Lord HARTINGTON and the chief Ministerial speakers agreed that it was possible and desirable to make new efforts to combat the standing cause of crime and the curse of the British nation. If anything new is to be done, it must be in the direction of the prohibition or regulation of the liquor trade, or in that of relieving it from existing restrictions. That the liquor trade should be prohibited is entirely impossible. It would be monstrous to prevent all alcohol being sold because some persons take too much, and the nation would never stand it for a day. No statesman would dream of looking in that direction for the legislation he desires; and Mr. FORSTER, in his new-born zeal for local option, took care to lay down that there must, in his opinion, be always a Parliamentary minimum of public-houses. The counter proposition that there should be free-trade, as it is called, in liquor has for years had the warm support of a number of sensible and influential persons at Liverpool, but has never made any way either in Parliament or the country. The substance of the proposal is that every one should be allowed to sell liquor provided he is of good character, or practically that nothing very bad is known against him, and that his premises are fit for the purpose. But this is only a device for getting rid of the difficulty of deciding who are to have licences, and how many public-houses there are to be. It is not meant to be an encouragement to drinking. On the contrary, a very heavy duty is to be put on every licence. This would, it is supposed, deter adventurers from starting public-houses except where they were so much wanted that success would compensate for the payment of the duty; while the revenue from the successful houses would go to the ratepayers and enable them to provide, without cost to themselves, the police who watch over drunkards and the prisons to which drunkards are sent. It is difficult to see how this can be called free trade. It seems rather a scheme for throwing the whole trade into the hands of capitalists. It therefore becomes a means of regulating the trade, not of enlarging its sphere, and is only one mode of effecting an object which may be attained in other ways.

Regulation, it must be observed, proceeds in two different directions, with two distinct objects. In the first place, it endeavours to prevent drinking from becoming a public nuisance. To this head belong all the provisions for police superintendence, the attempt to get the trade into respectable hands, and the imposition of penalties in case of disorder being permitted by the publican. In the next place, it aims at lessening the amount of liquor consumed. Provisions that public-houses shall be closed at certain hours or on certain days, as on Sundays in Scotland and Ireland, and that the number of public-houses shall be limited, fall under this head. The real question is whether Parliament can go further in this direction than at present or not. There is little, if anything, more to be done in the way of limiting the hours during which public-houses are to be allowed to remain open. The really important and practical point is whether drinking could be diminished by lessening the number of public-houses, while, at the same time, proper provision was made for the wants of the population. At present it is supposed that there is such a thing ascertainable as the proportion between any given population and the number of public-houses it requires, and that the secret of calculating this lies in the breast of the magistrates. The real contention of those who hope to combat drunkenness by limiting the number of public-houses is that the magistrates do not know the secret they profess to know, and that a much less number would suffice. The houses that were spared would have an ill-deserved monopoly, and those that were sacrificed would furnish grounds for heavy claims for compensation. But it may be assumed perhaps that Parliament could surmount these difficulties, or would pronounce that, in view of a great good to be obtained, certain evils must be endured. Some slight burden, too, might be cheerfully accepted by the respectable, if they could feel that they were really helping the poor and ignorant; and a man who takes his liquor in

moderation would for such a purpose be content to walk further than he has been accustomed and than is quite agreeable to him. What is really doubtful is whether diminishing the number of public-houses would make any perceptible difference in the amount of liquor consumed. Many excellent people who long to reform the nation guess that the difference would be not only perceptible, but very great. But it is very difficult to prove they are right, and it is on this head that the evidence taken by the Lords' Committee may be specially valuable. If it could once be established that there was a proper proportion between the population and the number of public-houses, and that this was a quite different proportion from that now accepted by the magistrates, Parliament could lay down general principles as to the number of houses and the mode of reducing the present number, and the less that was left to local option of any kind the better.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

THE House of Commons is as far as ever from recognizing the rights of women. Mr. COURTNEY's ingenious speech on their behalf evidently expressed a sincere conviction of the justice and expediency of the proposed change. Only a few days before, in the debate on Mr. TREVELYAN's motion, Mr. COURTNEY had proved that, in dealing with questions of Parliamentary reform, he is bent on improving the representative system or on protecting it from further deterioration, and not merely on strengthening the party to which he belongs. It is not surprising that he should persuade himself that female landowners, occupiers, or householders, would be at least as competent to discharge their duties as many of the actual electors. But the argument deduced from the present state of the municipal franchise is not conclusive. It has not been ascertained whether the experiment which has now been tried for some years has shown that municipal constituencies are improved by the accession of women, or whether the women themselves are uninjured by the innovation. Mr. BRIGHT seemed a year or two ago to believe that both questions must be answered in the negative; but it is possible that his judgment may have been affected by a conviction or a prejudice which is not the least strong in the most manly characters. Many persons dislike the intrusion of women into public affairs, through an instinctive distaste which is wholly unconnected with considerations of administrative utility. The most active politicians of either sex are the most resolute and the most pushing; and qualities which are sometimes creditable to men may not be attractive in women. Notwithstanding Mr. BRIGHT's opinion, it is doubtful whether the character of Town Councils has been lowered by the admission of female householders to the municipal franchise. Possibly the majority of women may prefer respectable candidates; but local contests are becoming more and more exclusively political, and active partisanship on the part of women provokes a feeling of repugnance. If the present constitution of Parliament were likely to be permanent, the practical objections to Mr. COURTNEY's proposal would perhaps not be insurmountable. The scruples of sentiment and taste would not be so easily overcome.

It could hardly have been expected that the two principal leaders of the Conservative party should support the claims of women. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, while he professed to think Mr. COURTNEY's resolution inopportune or inconvenient in form, distinctly pledged himself to vote on some future occasion for the admission of women to the franchise. Lord BEACONSFIELD, before he left the House of Commons, declared himself favourable to the same concession, though he had not voted for the annual motions which have invariably been rejected. One of the speakers in the late debate perhaps gave the true explanation of Lord BEACONSFIELD's liberality in the remark that he had never cultivated enthusiastic sympathy with representative institutions. Unlike Sir ROBERT PEEL and Mr. GLADSTONE, Mr. DISRAEELI never put himself forward as the champion of the privileges of the House of Commons. The quality which he has most fully appreciated in the humblest class of electors is their assumed pliability to the influence of their superiors; and he may perhaps have thought that in adroit hands women would be even more manageable than ignorant men. It is also possible that he may have regarded with indifference a demand which Parliament is

not disposed to grant. The assent of Sir S. NORTHCOTE to the principle of Mr. COURTNEY's resolution is more puzzling. His adhesion may perhaps have the good effect of preventing the enfranchisement of female householders from becoming a party question. Sir H. JAMES and Mr. FORSTER were more at ease in speaking and voting on the side of common sense, because the Ministerial leader was on the other side. Sir S. NORTHCOTE seems to have been impressed with the argument that the suffrage was inseparably attached to the county or borough qualification; yet the real purpose of the limitation which is still imposed on the male right of suffrage is to prevent the influx of excessive numbers of electors, and to exclude the least responsible part of the community. It had in former times been assumed that no fence was needed to check the irruption of women.

According to hitherto uniform precedent, extensions of the suffrage are irrevocable. It is allowable to increase the constituency, but not to reduce its numbers. If women are allowed to vote while the franchise is confined to householders, they cannot be hereafter excluded when universal suffrage is established. Mr. GLADSTONE in one of his pamphlets speaks with contempt of the trivial distinction between household and manhood suffrage. That the abolition of all restrictions would increase the number of voters three or fourfold is in his view an insignificant circumstance. It is evident that, if women were permitted to share in the present franchise, the question of manhood suffrage would never arise. Sir S. NORTHCOTE and other Conservative supporters of the claims of female householders and land-owners or lessees are prospectively or implicitly conceding the vote to the whole of the sex. Of the two terms which Mr. GLADSTONE alternately and indiscriminately applies to his clients, the description of male adults cannot include women; but, if they are not men, they are flesh and blood; and, if participation in humanity conveys a right to vote for members of Parliament, there is no reason why a special disability should be imposed on the larger half of the grown-up population. It is said that in England women exceed men in number by nearly a million. The question, therefore, of their enfranchisement, if it is answered in the affirmative, concerns a large majority of the constituencies of the future. The real effect of the measure would perhaps not be proportionately great. It is possible that the balance of parties might not be materially affected by the admission of women to an uncongenial sphere of activity. If they exercised any distinct influence, their energies would probably be employed only for certain purposes, and generally in the direction of meddling. The majority of women would, if they could, prevent drinking and smoking, and perhaps they might try to use their votes for the suppression of other sins to which they are not inclined.

With the general extension of the suffrage, the proposed distinction between female ratepayers and married women would necessarily disappear; but the zealous supporters of the movement are not content to wait for the contingent establishment of perfect equality. Mr. FORSYTH, who had at one time been selected as the champion of the oppressed sex, was contumeliously dismissed from his office because, with creditable inconsistency, he refused to enfranchise married women. It may perhaps have been in reproof of his timidity or backwardness that Miss LYDIA BECKER composed her forcible argument. Marriage is, as she justly observed, the principal profession of women; and it is well known that success in professions furnishes a common introduction to political life; yet Mr. FORSYTH, and indeed Mr. COURTNEY, would impose political disability as the result of professional success, or, in other words, on marriage. The objects of Miss BECKER's just scorn might perhaps partially excuse themselves by the suggestion that success at the Bar or in the medical profession is achieved by few, while the majority of women triumph in marriage; but Miss BECKER rightly holds that, if marriage restrains independence, matrons are, through experience and other advantages, superior in practical capacity to spinsters. The House of Commons is asked to grant a miserable instalment of the real demand, in the hope that a foundation may be laid for a more ambitious claim. The feminine love of contrivance and the spasmodic faith of women in logic are equally illustrated by the tactics which are employed.

The precedent of female suffrage in the Territory of Wyoming is not conclusive, even if it were known that the affairs of that remote community are satisfactorily con-

ducted. The local concerns of Wyoming are probably less important than the municipal business of a large English town; and the share of the Territory in general politics is confined to the election of a delegate to represent its interests at Washington. It may be assumed that in a country of universal suffrage married women have votes, which are, it may be hoped, usually given on the same side with those of their respective husbands. Mr. COURTNEY's description of a concerted attack by the female voters on the character of a candidate who had been tolerated by the men is lifelike and credible; but it is not necessary to make any new provision for the dissemination of scandal. As no other State or Territory has followed the example of Wyoming, it would seem that Mr. COURTNEY's inferences have not been drawn by politicians in the United States. It is the more remarkable that a plausible experiment has not been tried, because the notion that the suffrage is the best security against oppression prevails generally among Americans. It was on this ground that the Republicans amended the Constitution after the war by prohibiting the several States from imposing disabilities on account of race or colour. The negroes in the South have since learnt that, whatever may be the letter of the law, they must submit to be governed by a superior race. Perhaps an analogous result might follow the political emancipation of women; but an agitation for the franchise would have seemed more likely to succeed in the United States than in England. Hitherto the movement has not been formidable. Very few women in the upper classes wish to have votes; and the rest of the feminine community troubles itself little about the matter.

THE PURITAN INQUISITION.

THE question interesting to the public which is involved in the decision of the Queen's Bench as given by the mouth of the CHIEF JUSTICE, "in the matter of the complaint 'against the Bishop of OXFORD,'" is not whether Mr. CARTER will be put down, but whether the Church Association will be set up—not whether some excess of ritual may be tolerated in a few places, but whether a Puritan negation of ceremonial shall be made imperative everywhere. It is, we think, a matter very profitable to consider while the details of the gorgeous doings in St. George's Chapel are still fresh in our memories. No doubt it would be a great scandal to see an earnest Bishop or an aged and respected rector haled off to prison; but it would be more grievous to witness the whole ecclesiastical discipline of England brought to a dead-lock, and the performance of divine worship reduced to a uniformity of repulsive bareness at the bidding of a self-elected knot of reckless and irresponsible agitators. The Bishop of OXFORD's case, put in the simplest terms, was the contention that, inasmuch as the Public Worship Act, which embodied the latest mind of Church and State upon disciplinary procedure on matters of ritual, was precise in giving to the BISHOP full discretion as to allowing or forbidding suits to go on, therefore it must be held to colour or override the harsher provisions of the Church Discipline Act of thirty-nine years ago, framed to meet criminal rather than ceremonial misdeeds, and in which such discretion is not vested in the BISHOP, but in a certain Commission created by that statute, and endowed with inferior powers of arresting suits. The Public Worship Act, if read with the BISHOP's gloss, might be taken as a measure of indulgence, while, if it is only supplementary to the still living Church Discipline Act, it is an enactment for multiplying pains and penalties. The Court, while manifesting much sympathy for the BISHOP's "lay" reading of the law, was unable to travel beyond the written word of unpealed enactments. The Church Discipline Act is in the Statute-book, so is the Public Worship Act, and in it we find a provision keeping alive the older statute. The result accordingly is that, while every Bishop has discretion not to entertain a suit upon any ritual question when brought by three parishioners, he is compelled to undergo the trouble and expense of speeding it on its way when the complainant is a single person, who need not even be a parishioner, however inopportune or mischievous he may consider the proceeding to be.

The supporters of the Public Worship Act have hitherto been fond of pointing to that production as a measure of

mercy in comparison with the previous statute. Three aggrieved parishioners, we were told, would henceforward supplant the one aggrieved non-parishioner; the Bishop had absolute power of stopping the suit, which was no longer a criminal proceeding, while the prison had no more terrors for the delinquent priest. All this reasoning would have been very much to the point if the Act of 1874 had, in repealing the earlier and sterner practice, pursued a policy which, as the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE plainly intimated, would have been consonant with mercy, fairness, and common sense. But the legislators of five years ago obeyed other impulses; so they took particular pains to keep alive the older jurisdiction behind their newly devised procedure. The situation, in short, was the creation on one side of a method less fraught with material damage to the convicted delinquent than the old one, but offering greater temptations to meddlesome mischief-makers to set it in operation, and the maintenance on the other of the old *peine forte et dure*, with all its heavy consequences. Something might have been said in favour of this double process if the offence which it was intended to abate had been specific in its nature, intentionally criminal in its perpetrators, and manifestly injurious to the common weal. In such a case the policy would have been akin to that which has created the new offence of treason-felony without abolishing the old high crime of absolute treason. But, as it happens, not a single one of these conditions is fulfilled. The actions which our prelatic legislators sought to abate were, if criminal at all, only so in a technical sense, as contraventions of those regulations for the conduct of divine worship called the Rubrics, which have been invested with a Parliamentary sanction by the Acts of Uniformity, and which are so far from being clear and precise that an unusually large Royal Commission was kept at hard work in considering them from 1867 to 1870, with the result of a very bulky contribution of suggestions, the greater part of which have remained, and are likely for an indefinite period to remain, a dead letter. The offending clergymen, too, are so far from proclaiming war against society that they base their proceedings upon what they consider a legitimate interpretation of those debatable rubrics, while they are abetted in their action, not by the skulking children of Bohemia, but by a party which, whatever may be thought of its wisdom or its legal knowledge, is eminently respectable, religious, and, in respect of the varying social standing of its members, representative of the entire nation. Against this view it may be plausibly urged that, granting such considerations, still the unwise of the Ritualists had been so great as to reduce the rulers of the Church to the dilemma of having to resort to these apparently harsh measures for the safety of the spiritual commonwealth. We will, without accepting this position, admit it for the present argument, and consider how it affects the actual relations of Church parties. Ritualism being, by the confession of its opponents, an undefined and undefinable offence, not any particular action or series of actions, but the exaggeration of a number of lawful actions, could only be reached by general and enabling processes; and the Act which was to "put down Ritualism" was perforce framed to put down anything or everything which legal subtlety could make out as irreconcilable with the letter of obscure rubrics, whether in the direction which the Ritualists were supposed to favour or in the contrary one. It is always easier to make laws than to regulate the practical action of those laws after they have been made; so the double powers of prosecution provided by the coexistence of the Church Discipline and of the Worship Regulation Act had to be entrusted for their working to the moderation and common sense of the people, who were at once invited to come on and warned to hold off.

As we ventured to predict, the hopes of those who saw safety in these national qualities have been found vain, for a reason to which only unaccountable obtuseness could have blinded them. Our spiritual rulers thought the Ritualists dangerous, and they also esteemed them a minority, so they granted letters of marque to another and an antagonistic minority to prey upon them. Of course moderation and common sense came to an end when the two Metropolitans condescended to give those pledges at Lambeth Palace to the fuglemen of the Church Association which they were compelled to redeem by the Public Worship Bill, particularly in its second form as edited by Lord SHAFTESBURY. We should

not be surprised to learn that these prelates now perceive how great a mistake they then committed. But that mistake chartered an Association which is nothing better than a conspiracy against toleration, research, and culture within the limits of the Church of England. The Church Association has its own very definite views, which it ventures to push at any price. Its doctrines are that narrow Puritanism, carried from Switzerland into England in the troubled days of the Reformation, against which such men as Archbishop PARKER and HOOKER protested and struggled; while its worship repudiates those material helps to devotion which the reverential instincts of all pious men in every age have cherished, with the single exception of their prototypes and of the sects or parties descended from them. Of one thing it has an absolute hatred, and that is historical Christianity. If any body of men choose to associate themselves to keep up these dreary traditions for their own delectation, we have nothing to say against them, for they are simply using their own liberty. But when they truculently claim to force their narrow and tyrannical system on all the great old Church of England, they constitute themselves a public nuisance. Yet in the actual condition of our ecclesiastical procedure, with the Public Worship Act put upon the Statute-book and the Church Discipline Act not removed from it, the Church Association has, by the late decision of the Queen's Bench, acquired unusual powers for following out its policy. To be sure it has been snubbed and rebuffed by a series of judgments which, while very distasteful to intransigent Ritualists, and coming to conclusions on one or two points which are a sore puzzle to plain people who repudiate the name of Ritualist, yet assert, in no uncertain language, the lawfulness of that dignified type of worship which the Church of England presents and the Church Association resents. But it is still resolved on showing fight, and its method of warfare is the predatory tactics of Afghan or Zulu hordes. The sight of aged and honoured clergymen dragged off to gaol, and of Bishops ruined by the costs of frivolous suits which the law compelled them to entertain, would be very sad; but it would be still more sad to see the great Church of England stung to death by pismires.

THAMES SEWAGE AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE fate of the Lower Thames Valley Sewage Bill will not excite much interest outside the district with which the rejected measure proposed to deal. Yet, for all that, it is in its way one of the most notable events of the Session. It brings out in the most conspicuous manner possible the utter confusion which has overtaken the sanitary administration of the country. The parishes lying between Hampton Court and the Metropolitan main sewage system have been forbidden to discharge their sewage into the Thames, and a common Board has been charged by Act of Parliament with the duty of devising some alternative way of getting rid of it. This Board claims to have examined twenty-three proposals for meeting the difficulty; and the result of their inquiries is embodied in the Bill which the House of Commons was asked yesterday week to read a second time. Upon the merits of this scheme we do not profess to have an opinion. The observations we have to offer on the subject will deal entirely with the treatment to which it has been subjected. In the ordinary course of things the second reading of a Bill of this kind is almost a matter of course. In fact, it hardly comes to more than an admission that the subject needs to be dealt with somehow. The real opposition to the object of the Bill is offered before the Select Committee, when every clause, from the preamble onwards, may be minutely scrutinized, and, if need be, rejected. In the present case the opponents of the Bill declined to give it the start which is commonly allowed; and, notwithstanding the representations of two members of the Government, they defeated the motion for the second reading by 168 votes against 146. We do not say that they were wrong in doing this. The arguments they used were that the plan proposed in the Bill was an exceedingly bad one, that the inhabitants of the district affected by it would have no opportunity of being heard before the Committee, and that the right course would have been to apply to the Local Government Board for a provisional order, which

would have involved an inquiry by a Government Inspector, before whom every one of the ratepayers would have had a *locus standi*. Supposing these assertions to be capable of being made good, they undoubtedly constitute a complete condemnation of the Bill. But, unfortunately, the House of Commons is a tribunal before which it is impossible to make them good. It would be doing an injustice to the members who voted for or against the Bill to suppose that they were moved to do so by the speeches they heard. From these they would learn, on Mr. GORST's authority, that the opponents of the scheme are animated by personal and selfish motives; on Mr. RAIKES's authority, that the scheme might affect very injuriously two rivers and an interesting and picturesque district; on Sir A. LUSK's authority, that to pass the Bill was the only way of keeping the sewage of 108,000 persons away from the Thames; and, on Mr. GILES's authority, that to pass the Bill would have the effect of sending this same sewage into the Thames. Not one of these statements could be in any way checked or sifted, and it is to be hoped that the majority and the minority were alike content to put them aside, and to rest their votes on knowledge which they brought with them into the House. What is not clear, however, is why the majority who were so deeply impressed with the need of having the contents of the Bill more thoroughly investigated than could be done by an ordinary Select Committee were so resolute in resisting Mr. CHILDER'S suggestion that the Bill should be referred to a hybrid Committee, chosen partly by the House and partly by the Committee of Selection. Before a Committee of this kind all persons interested in the subject might have been heard, and the only argument urged against the proposal—the probability that the hybrid Committee would have to examine a great number of witnesses—seems hardly relevant. If there are a large number of persons interested in opposing a private Bill, that is a good reason for not referring it to a Committee which has no power to hear them. But we fail altogether to see why it is equally or at all a reason for not referring it to a Committee which has power to hear them.

A letter which appeared in the *Times* of Thursday gives a little more information about the rejected scheme than can be obtained from the report of the debate. The writer, Alderman KNIGHT, is hardly an impartial witness on the merits of the Bill, for he begins his letter with an outbreak of devout gratitude to that good Providence which has given us a House of Commons. Probably in this case Heaven has helped those that have helped themselves. At least it may be suspected that private whipping had more to do with the fate of the Bill than public spirit. The unparalleled crime of the "Lower Thames Valley Main Sewage Board" was, it seems, that they wanted to do what many other sanitary authorities have done before them, and set up a sewage-farm. But what other sanitary authorities have been allowed to do unmolested, and even with some glory to themselves, becomes, when an attempt is made to apply it to the inhabitants of Esher, Walton, and Hampton Court, "an abominable and "outrageous nuisance." Alderman KNIGHT's language about a sewage-farm at Moulsey recalls the similar execrations which used to be called forth from the late Mr. ALFRED SMEE on the subject of the Croydon sewage-farm. But Alderman KNIGHT is happier than Mr. SMEE in one respect, since his opposition, together with that of others like-minded with himself, has for the present defeated the Moulsey scheme, whereas the Croydon scheme has survived its great adversary, and, we believe, is still in full operation. Alderman KNIGHT's opposition appears, however, to come to little more than this—that, in common with many other people, he would like to keep his own house as far away as possible from a sewage-farm. Unfortunately this, though a perfectly natural sentiment, is not one which carries us any nearer to a conclusion. Here is the sewage of 108,000 people to be disposed of somehow. It must not go into the Thames; and, if it must not be turned upon a sewage-farm, what is to become of it? Alderman KNIGHT, it must be admitted, has an answer ready. "There is," he says, "but one possible and practical solution of the question, and that is to follow the laws of nature and gravitation, and conduct the sewage to the sea." Unfortunately for the success of this solution, gravitation is, for the inhabitants of Esher, Walton, and Hampton Court, not a law, but an obstacle. Alder-

man KNIGHT evidently thinks that, if the Thames can make its way from Hampton Court to the sea, the sewage of the district ought to be able to make its way there also. It is to be feared that, when he had constructed his pipes and established his outlet at some spot where the sewage, "if it be good for anything, can be utilized on the sandy beach, or, if worthless, it may be lost in the vastness of the mighty deep," he would find that the law of gravitation had been but a broken reed. The only gravitation the sewage would recognize would be gravitation to the bottom of the pipe. Nature would have to be supplemented by an immense pumping apparatus, and a new sewage experiment, greater in some respects than that of the London main drainage, would have to be tried at the cost of the inhabitants of the river-side parishes above London. We do not say that the sewage could not be disposed of in this fashion; we do not even say that this may not be found the best method of dealing with it. But before the district is committed to a scheme of such tremendous dimensions, it would be well that full consideration should be given to the arguments in favour of a sewage-farm.

It is plain that this full consideration cannot be given to any scheme so long as the House of Commons will not descend to inquire into the merits of the proposals which the local sanitary authorities wish to submit to Parliament. Probably the suggestion to take the sewage to the sea will have a large body of opponents, who will insist next Session upon meting out to their rivals' plan the measure that has been meted out to their own. In this way the inhabitants of the district will have to take their choice between being poisoned in their own houses, and defying the law which forbids them to poison others by continuing to send their sewage into the Thames. There seems to be no way out of this dilemma until the Government choose to exert themselves somewhat in the matter, and Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH abandons that attitude of easy indifference which it pleased him to maintain last week. Without going the whole length with Sir WILLIAM BARTTELOT, whose doctrine that sewage should be dealt with by Her Majesty's Government and not by irresponsible bodies would destroy all local self-government in sanitary matters, we are quite unable to agree with Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH when he declared that he did not feel called upon to state the views of the Government on this question. It is the duty of the central sanitary authority, as it seems to us, to form its opinion upon such a question as that raised by this Bill—at all events, to the extent of insisting on its receiving the full consideration of the House of Commons. If Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH had been authorized, speaking on behalf of the Government, to take this tone, we cannot believe that the division of Friday week would have gone against the Bill.

WEDDINGS.

EVEN if a new war had begun somewhere or other this week, it would probably have received but a small share of public attention. The eyes of the people have been fixed on Windsor, on the preparations for the wedding of the Duke of Connaught, and on the arrival of his bride, Princess Louise Marguerite has been saluted (by the *Daily Telegraph*) as "the gem of the stately Court, and the precious floweret of the happy English home." This play on the meanings of the name Marguerite is so neat and good, and above all so original, that the genius of compliment can no further go in verbal exquisiteness, but must take refuge in wedding presents. Persons who are quite indifferent as to the "parlous state" of Eastern Roumelia, who do not distinguish between Boers and Zulus, and are reckless as to what Yakoob intends, and about the King of Burmah, can pass happy hours over the description of Royal wedding presents. The marriage of the Duke of Connaught (or of any other member of the Royal Family) is a kind of sentimental holiday to the majority of Englishwomen.

There is a great deal of kindness and honest loyalty in the interest which people take in the affairs of the Duke of Connaught. On royal wedding-days this country is like one gigantic parish on some festive occasion in the family of the squire. That family, in the huge parish of England, is justly popular. The manners of the Royal House endear them to people who are in their society, and people who are not in their society seem capable of indulging in a kind of imaginative affection. Some three months ago the country shared the sorrow of the Royal House with undoubted sincerity. The death of Princess Alice added sensibly to the melancholy of a bitter Christmas, of depressed trade, and to the gloom of war always imminent during the last few years. On one of the most beautiful days of early spring the bridal of the Duke of Connaught seems a thing of fortunate omen. The people are ready to add Princess Louise Marguerite to their

list of favourites. To be popular, to be widely liked, must greatly increase the happiness of princes; and this gift, among a thousand other good things, fortune seems to offer the Duke of Connaught and his bride.

The keen interest which the readers of the newspapers take in the whole affair is only an expansion of the ordinary joy which women feel when one man repents and is married. Probably engaged persons of all ranks are inclined to resent this eager personal interest in their fortunes. They have done nothing out of the way; their proceedings have been the most commonplace thing in the world; and yet they feel themselves being stared at by every one who ever heard of them. A man may distinguish himself in a hundred ways and his second cousin will never hear of it; the people who have known him from childhood will take the matter with perfect calmness. Say a man writes a poem which is bepraised in all the reviews—his friends never read the reviews. They scarcely even condescend to "schaff" him, as a French writer on England spells a familiar word. To make scientific discoveries, to explore new countries, to save life by some display of strength or courage, is nothing; none of the student's or the hero's neighbours pay the slightest attention to his conduct. The names of Lieutenants Bromhead and Chard, for example, are at this moment much in the mouths of the general public. These gallant young officers, however, would have caused infinitely more excitement among their distant connexions, and among the people who know their aunts, if they had engaged themselves to female colonists in a time of profound peace. This is one of the paradoxes of human nature. To every woman, and to a great many men, every marriage is a thing of joy and wonder. Intense curiosity is felt about all the details. A dozen tiny little antiquated scandals are fished up, tales of old flirtations, and loves lost long ago. Is the bride pretty? Is she quite a lady? Has she any money? Who are his people? How does she do her hair? Where are they going to live? What is his father going to allow him? What in the world can she see in him? What in the world can he see in her? This catechism by no means deserves the name of "Shorter," which the Scotch have assigned to a long and maundering manual of Calvinistic theology. It is the abounding interest taken by outsiders in marriages that makes "long engagements" the most deplorable of arrangements. No man or woman can enjoy the consciousness that for a year or so they are undergoing microscopic inspection, that they are the victims of the most prying criticism. Occasionally they chance to hear some of the amazing myths which are in circulation about themselves and their plans. The most imprudent marriage is better than this torture; and when once people are wedded their public trials are, as a rule, at an end, even if their domestic troubles are still to begin.

The preparations for a wedding are very dear to the great army of the unemployed. The wedding presents alone are, to the gossips of a district or of a circle of relations, as useful as the Burials question to the political Dissenter. The generosity, the niggardliness, the good or bad taste of the donors are freely criticized. A house becomes a kind of annex of the South Kensington Museum, a bazaar, a jeweller's shop. It seems impossible that the most extravagant pair should ever find uses for all the candlesticks. The most punctual cannot need all the clocks. The most literary of brides does not want more than a dozen inkstands and as many writing-cases. Who can employ six travelling-bags, and what library is not complete without seven copies of the *Epic of Hades*? To give wedding presents is to be caught into the vast Mississippi of bubble that eddies round the happy pair, to offer oneself as a minor victim of active criticism. On the other hand, to read about the gifts bestowed on the Duke of Connaught is enough to make a sober man wish himself young, handsome, and a prince, and he even might not mind undergoing the ceremony of a wedding.

Weddings offer women an eligible opportunity of getting up a good family quarrel. All the ladies of their connexion are in a flutter of excitement, and are far from being mistresses of themselves. In the inevitable confusion of large hospitalities, some distant aunt or near cousin is certain, like the cross fairy who was not asked to the christening, "to take offence." The aimless excitement and flutter now find something fresh to work upon, and settle down into good steady animosities. "Marriage, and death, and division," says the poet rather cynically, "make barren our lives." Marriages generally beget division, or rather, in the general excitement, some slow old grudge is brought to a head and bursts. When the happy pair return after the honeymoon, they are lucky if they do not find that they have to take a side in a feud, and range themselves under the banner of Aunt Jane or of Aunt Matilda. All this is the result of the curious inexplicable passion with which people who do not care a pin for a man or woman throw themselves into their matrimonial affairs. One's birth does not disturb society; one may be christened and confirmed and the world is calm. Our great achievements, if we ever perform any, interest every one more than our kinsfolk. We may even commit crimes, and find that scanty notice is taken of the offence, relations confining themselves to saying that "they always looked for as much." We die, and our intimates are unmoved. Why, then, can we not marry in peace? Why do people seem to become a new and strange sort of beings, of interest to all men, as soon as they are engaged to be married? There must be some mysterious reason for these things, and philosophers may seek it in the remote history of the race. There, however, they probably will not find it, as weddings in the remote

history of the race were an unregarded episode, in which the lady was hit on the head and dragged quietly out of the camp. Nor will the philosopher be more happy if he "looks within his own bosom, and listens for the whispers of consciousness." His consciousness has nothing to say on the subject. If he be a married philosopher, he knows that he always forgets all about it when he is told that any of his friends are about to enter into the state of matrimony. He knows that he looks on that as entirely their own affair, and neither history nor experience can inform him why his fellow-creatures put themselves into such a flutter. Mankind has always been so constituted that many things which are natural remain inexplicable to the philosopher. We do not think that even Mr. Herbert Spencer has tried to solve the problem connected with the popular interest in weddings.

When the supreme day has come, the most outside division of the populace shows a lively interest. Nursemaids, as they pass the doors of the house in the morning, know what is going on, and stop, with their infantile charges, to stare. There is nothing to see, but that makes no difference. As the day advances, the idle, the curious, the match-woman, the flower-girl, the butcher's-boy gather in the neighbourhood, and wait, and gaze, happy and contented. Staring goes vigorously on, at church and round the church door, and when the party returns for the wedding breakfast, and when the bride and bridegroom go away. Each married man and woman make a British holiday, and involuntarily add to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. They give far more pleasure to loafers than a dozen drunken people who resist the police, than twenty horses that have come down on their knees. Then they pass away, and cease to be the chief figures in domestic history. Their trials are over. They do not vary any longer from the kindly race of men, as they seem to have done from their engagement to their wedding-day.

As people who have visited the theatre take out of their memories, for a day or so, some of the things that amused them, and laugh again, so young ladies linger lovingly over the details of a wedding. It is a curious experience, life in a house full of girls who have just left a marriage party. Their minds are full of the great theme; they tenderly record each incident; they can think of nothing else; and they tell each other a thousand times how the bride looked, and how she dropped her bouquet, and who picked it up again, and how her travelling dress became her. Not otherwise than when, a covey being dispersed, men go round and shoot the straggling birds, so admirers might easily win the hearts of the fair who are still hovering wistfully round the memory of a wedding. Thus nature has provided chances for bridesmaids; and thus the superstition that it is unlucky to be often a bridesmaid is justified. For if a lady can survive heart-whole, and pass unscathed through these moments of sympathy, it is certain that she never will be won.

PROFESSOR CLIFFORD.

THE unexpected news of the death of Professor Clifford at Madeira will have brought sadness to an unusually large body of devoted friends, who had hoped that his strength had not waned so far that it might not be recovered under the influence of the mild climate to which he had gone. Nor will it be only by those who had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Professor Clifford that the news of his untimely death will be deeply felt. Few men who have passed away at so early an age have been so central a figure as he was in the view of a large portion of the most highly educated amongst us; and still fewer have achieved this distinction, while at the same time they retained the esteem and admiration of the select few who were competent to estimate their powers and know whether they had been put to a worthy use. But it was always his fate to be conspicuous in whatever circumstances or society he was placed. This was primarily due to his intellectual power, for without the wonderful rapidity and vigour of thought which he possessed, such a reputation as his could not have been sustained; but it was in no small degree due also to the peculiar originality of his character, both intellectual and moral, and to the absolutely tireless energy of his versatile mind. Those who remember Cambridge some ten or fifteen years ago will readily call to mind his fame while an undergraduate there. From the time when he came up to the University, with the high reputation which he had won while a schoolboy, to the time he left it some eight years afterwards to become Professor of Mathematics at University College, London, he was more universally known and discussed among all classes at the University, whether undergraduates, graduates, or dons, than any of his contemporaries. He was indeed at all times a contrast to the normal type. At first, when fresh from school, he appeared as an ardent High Churchman, but he gradually became known as a devoted follower of Mr. Herbert Spencer, and as the champion of those views with which his name has since been identified. But, whatever was the precise phase of thought in which he might be, there was the same brilliant, though paradoxical, style of asserting and defending his beliefs which made him the terror of authorities and the delight of younger men. He never was in any sense the head of a party there. He was far too eccentric and original to have many followers or imitators. But no one had a wider circle of intimate friends, and no one could be in intimate intercourse with him without being deeply influenced by his views; and it was at that time chiefly by his direct influence on those personally

acquainted with him that he produced his effect on the University. But the many-sidedness of his character caused this direct personal influence to be much more widely extended than would have seemed possible to those unacquainted with him. Gifted with an almost equal love for science, mathematics, history, and literature—we may even add gymnastics—he was the centre of a knot of devotees of each of these studies, each of whom welcomed him as a comrade and regarded with jealousy his attention to other subjects as being likely to seduce him from the true bent of his genius into less important and congenial studies. And no doubt it was a fortunate thing in this instance that the arrangements for retaining the ablest men at the English Universities are so imperfect, that Professor Clifford found no certainty of sufficient scope for his energies there, and resolved to leave that abode of learned leisure, and come to London to become a Mathematical Professor, inasmuch as it was this that prevented him from wasting his life in desultory essays in a great variety of directions. No doubt all of these would have shown a power which would have made them remarkable, but they would have been dearly purchased by the sacrifice of the far greater and more abiding results that followed the concentration of his energies on the one or two subjects to which he devoted himself after his departure from the University.

When resident in London the same qualities that had won him so many friends at Cambridge still stood him in good stead, and he rapidly drew round him a large circle of warm friends and admirers, among whom might be found almost all the best known names in science or literature. This power of winning the affections of those who were most worthy of friendship was due mainly to the peculiarly winning gentleness and tenderness which characterized him, and made it impossible to resist the charm of personal intercourse with him. Although the nature of his opinions, and his style of championing them, raised him countless enemies among those who knew him only from his writings and lectures, yet there was no school of thought among the members of which he did not possess some intimate friends. However widely their opinions might differ, it seemed to be quite impossible for any one to feel hostility towards him after becoming personally acquainted with him. The versatility of his mind aided this greatly, for it gave to his conversation a charm which was quite peculiar, and which was felt alike by the most different classes of minds. There was no subject from which he used not to draw apt illustrations or expressive metaphors, which came clothed in language as quaint and as original as it was appropriate. Whatever he discussed seemed to become full of suggestiveness. These qualities gave great additional value to his mathematical lectures. With his style of teaching, the most valuable part of the instruction was the indirect effect of the lessons; the actual matter in hand was distinctly subordinate to the general training in the fundamental ideas and principles of the subject which its discussion enabled him to give. Everything was treated from the point of view in which it least needed the aid of artificial methods and conventions, so that its direct connexion with the broad underlying principles common to a whole class of subjects might be immediately perceived. This dislike to artificial methods was almost a passion with him. He had great faith in the superiority of this style of teaching, and always maintained that it was the easiest as well as the best, a proposition to which the experience of most teachers would not lead them to assent. Perhaps it was his own special power of clear exposition which enabled him to succeed so well in thus handling his subjects in their most general form, instead of starting from simple and particular cases, and only taking up more general theorems after the simpler ones had been mastered by his pupils; but, whether or not this was the case, it is certain that he had all the success in his teaching that he could desire.

It is a signal proof of the beauty of Professor Clifford's personal character that, in forming an estimate of him, one should so naturally and inevitably think first of his general qualities, and only in the second place of his claims to fame as a mathematician. For it was in the latter character that he first gained his great reputation, and it is in that that his claims to genius are the strongest. No one of his contemporaries ever approached Professor Clifford in his marvellous power over the intricate and abstruse branches of mathematics to which he gave his main affections, and to find his equal we should have to look among veterans whose names will for ever be identified with these subjects. Such was his prodigious grasp over the phantoms that people these remoter regions of thought, that while little more than a boy he seemed fit to take his place amongst the masters of these studies. And there can be no doubt that, if the innate restlessness of his nature would have permitted him to accept the quiet of a mathematician's life, he might have left behind him what would have entitled him to take rank as one of our greatest mathematicians. But it is hard to forego the pleasure of using powers which one is conscious of possessing, and the temptation to which the versatility of his mind subjected him was well-nigh fatal to his reputation as a specialist. Every now and then something would turn his energy into these lines, and he would show by some fragment what magnificent work he was capable of doing; but it was for a long time doubtful whether he would ever do justice to himself in this respect, and by more continuous application to some special subject produce results worthy of his powers. As time went on, however, this changed; during the last few years there were fewer signs of the old desultoriness, and both in his *Elements of Dynamic* and his various mathematical papers there were

abundant traces of the concentration of effort which alone was needed to secure success. But, alas! this was only too speedily succeeded by the leisure of the sick-bed. Perhaps it was the feeling of decaying strength which first made Professor Clifford limit the sphere of his efforts, and seek to finish some of his many projects, instead of forming new ones. Whether this was so or not, it was not the less a gain to the world, though even now what we possess should be considered only as indications of what his powers would have been when fully developed. Few, if any, have done such brilliant work and yet died leaving us to feel that it must be taken only as the promise, and not as the measure, of their powers.

But what the mathematical world lost in this want of specialization of Professor Clifford's powers was gained by the general educated public. His powers as a scientific expositor were as remarkable as his mathematical abilities. His talent did not lie in experimental illustration; on the contrary, he seldom, if ever, resorted to it. Nor did he ever condescend to the nurse-like prattle by which some scientific lecturers make themselves comprehensible to the meanest intellects—but to those only. There was not a sentence, or a scientific statement, in one of Professor Clifford's lectures of which he need have been ashamed in an address to the most scientific or learned society. And yet there was such a simplicity and clearness in the language, and such a perfection of arrangement in the thought, that none could fail to grasp the meaning of the lecturer, save those who were wholly beneath his aim. If the result had not been such graceful and strong English, there would have seemed to be a kind of literary legerdemain in the skill with which a vocabulary so simple that it might almost have belonged to the nursery was made to do all that for which ponderous scientific terms are usually deemed to be necessary. Mathematicians are not always good men of science. The training they have gone through makes them too often consider the expression of natural processes in symbols as being far more important than the processes themselves, and they are thus dry, unsympathetic, and unprofitable scientific teachers. But when a man has a real love for science and a sympathy with the concrete rather than the abstract portion of it, the gain from a strict mathematical training is immense. And in his case all these elements were present in a very high degree, and his essays and lectures will long remain as patterns of the perfection which can be attained in scientific exposition.

It would be a great error to suppose from the versatility of Professor Clifford's character and the wide range of his tastes that there was anything frivolous or vacillating in his aims, or that his views of life lacked earnestness. No imputation could be more utterly contrary to the truth. Changeable he might be in his favourite pursuits; but this was with him almost a matter of principle. There was nothing that he regarded with greater dislike than a fixed, stereotyped habit of mind which renders the possessor unable or unwilling to receive new impressions or welcome new truths. This "crystallization" was with him synonymous with mental death. But under all this apparent variability there lay a deep and stable earnestness of purpose which guided him through life, and to the behests of which he never failed to give implicit obedience. Many could not but differ widely from him in their views of the right aims to cherish in life and the nature and sanction of our duty to our fellow-men, but those who would in such matters be his strongest opponents could not surpass him in his strict obedience to what he felt to be the calls of duty. No prospect of advancement or gain could ever lead him to place in the second rank those matters which in his view of life ought to possess primary importance. By the conduct to which his conscientious adherence to his principles led him, he won the hostility both of those who sincerely held opposite opinions and of those who were careless as to the truth or falsity of the views of either side, but disliked the root-and-branch criticism of old and accepted notions, as being likely to lead to social complications the ultimate consequences of which were doubtful. For this latter class his contempt was unbounded; but to the former class he was much less severe, although perhaps in his writings his tone savoured little of a merciful spirit. The full vials of his wrath were reserved for a third class—namely, for men who could rightly command respect from their scientific attainments, but who, in his view, abused their position and knowledge to repeat the blunder of the theologians of a bygone day and concocted out of the imperfect scientific knowledge of the moment specious arguments in support of their special views, and thus represented them as demonstrated by reasoning which the growth of knowledge will in all probability soon show to be based on utterly incorrect conceptions. To those who thus misused their scientific knowledge he was indeed unsparing, and they were made to feel what it was to have their scientific fallacies pitilessly dissected and held up to ridicule by one who was at least their equal in scientific attainments, and vastly their superior in accuracy of thought and literary power. But in so doing he was rendering at least an equal service to his foes and to his own party, for he was saving them from being tempted to bid for the momentary triumph which the support of such dangerous allies might have given them; and he was, in truth, performing that service which disputants on both sides can alike render—namely, he was lending his powerful aid in clearing the matter from false issues. And thus in the discussion of the great questions to which he devoted the later years of his life friends and foes alike will miss his pen. In his writings on these sub-

jects, as in everything which he did, there was so much real power; he showed himself so clearly to be an intellectual giant when he concentrated his energies on any subject, that his loss must be felt to be an injury to the progress of truth even by those who most differed from his conclusions. In all that he has left behind we find this same unrivalled strength exemplified; and though his admirers must always regret that he has left so little in comparison with what he would have done had such a brain been lodged in a stronger frame, yet they will be comforted by the thought that enough remains to enable those who are capable of sympathy with such a mind as his to estimate rightly the magnitude of the loss to the world that one so great should have been cut off at a time when he had but just emerged from his intellectual boyhood.

THE FOOL OF QUALITY.

SOME twenty years ago Kingsley published a new edition of Brooke's *Fool of Quality* with a biographical preface. The book itself had probably been forgotten by all but the curious, or perhaps a few who might have made its acquaintance as a good "Sunday book" for children. Wesley had spoken very highly of its merits, and his authority would have weight with the class who disapprove of fiction unless combined with a copious effusion of more edifying matter. Kingsley, however, took up the cause of Brooke with his usual gallantry. He regards him as one of the greatest men in the eighteenth century; he takes poor Johnson to task for disliking a man who was "certainly his superior in intellect," and for irreverently casting ridicule upon his poetry. In truth, it is to be feared that the line ridiculed by Johnson is about all that the average reader will recognize in Brooke. "Who rules o'er freemen should himself be free" is a fine line in *Gustavus Vasa*, says Kingsley, which Johnson cruelly parodied by "Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat." We have not been able to discover the line in the play in question; but the contrast is sufficiently characteristic of Brooke and Johnson. A reader who likes poetry to be strictly logical will probably agree with Johnson that the phrase implies something like a play upon words. Others who welcome "lofty sentiment" even at the price of a little accuracy may share Kingsley's admiration. And such readers will find ample satisfaction for their tastes in Brooke's novel as well as in his play.

We fear, however, that Kingsley's preface is more likely to alienate than to attract any one who has not a very indiscriminate appetite in such matters. To say the truth, Kingsley was not a good critic, and did not invariably write like a wise man. The preface in question is, in plain language, one of the silliest things that he ever published. The impression which it makes is that he was half ashamed of his liking for Brooke, and therefore worked himself into a rage in order to anticipate the scoffers. He defends his author by the old and well-known plan known as abusing the attorney for the other side. He has to admit that Brooke like other people had the defects of his qualities; and that, being an impulsive Irishman of genius, he was not always so prudent as he ought to have been. In fact, his wife was only fourteen at their marriage, and had three children by the time she was eighteen. It is not surprising to hear that the poor lady's constitution broke down after a time; and a biographer of the ordinary kind might have admitted that it would have been as well if the young couple had waited a little longer. But this would not satisfy Kingsley's ardent partisanship. He gratuitously invents a cold-blooded Malthusian who sneers at early marriages, and who even goes so far as to hint that a young man need not be the worse for the process called sowing his wild oats. Kingsley, of course, pummels this wretched cynic to his heart's content, jumps upon him, knocks his miserable weapons of sophistry out of his grasp, and goes away with a virtuous swagger. But one must really be in a very innocent state of mind to have dust thrown in one's eyes to any purpose by this transparent artifice. Nobody was thinking about the cold-blooded Malthusian till Kingsley dragged him in for the pleasure of a fight, and we are after all not compelled to choose between the alternatives of cynical sensuality and marriage at the age of fourteen. The same artless device is repeated in regard to Brooke's other little faults; in place of the quiet record of an amiable life, enlivened by some gentle touching of the hero's harmless eccentricities, we have a series of angry assaults upon all Kingsley's pet aversions.

It is a pity; for Brooke's life was a remarkable one in its way, though the materials for a description are scanty enough. He was born in 1708, and educated in Dublin, where he seems to have received unusual kindness from Swift. He practised for some years as a barrister in Dublin; but he was also settled for brief periods in England. There he became the friend of Pope, whom he flattered outrageously, or for whom, in Kingsley's version, he felt the reverence so becoming in a young and noble heart. His earliest poem, on "Universal Beauty," is a didactic performance in the taste and style of the *Essay on Man*. Through Pope he became acquainted with Lyttelton, Pitt, and the whole group of so-called patriots who were longing to emancipate their country and get a share of their country's good things by turning out Walpole. Brooke's contribution was the tragedy of *Gustavus Vasa*, a performance which it would be hardly worth while to criticize. It is full of noble sentiments about patriotism and liberty, such as Kingsley declares, with bitter irony, are now ac-

ceptable only to roughs in the gallery of a cheap theatre. Perhaps the roughs in question may fail to discern what is painfully evident to the reader of the drama of that day—that the rant in question was the expression of a terribly shallow sentiment. It is hard to distinguish Brooke's eloquence from the eloquence which Akenside, Thomson, Glover, and others expended upon similar topics; and which has become insipid because, though they were able men, and doubtless sincere enough in their way, there was no real strength of passion in the whole literature of virtuous declamation. Burns could put more fire into a single song than would have served for half-a-dozen tragedies or epics of that time. But they are certainly full of noble sentiments. Brooke's tragedy contained a villain supposed to represent Walpole, and about as like Walpole as Judas Iscariot. The play was therefore prohibited; Brooke made a large sum by publishing it, and was so elated by his success as to take a villa near Pope, and enter for a literary or political career. A severe illness, however, induced him to return to Ireland, and there he gradually withdrew from society, and finally settled down in a farm near his native place. He wasted a great deal of money upon attempted improvements; and, losing his wife after fifty years' marriage, and fifteen out of seventeen children, he sank into a depressed state, and died in 1783 at Dublin.

He wrote plays, novels, and political pamphlets after leaving England, but his chief literary performance, the *Fool of Quality*, was published in five volumes (1766-70); and, after reading the eulogies of Wesley, who published an abridged edition, and of Kingsley, one turns to its pages with some curiosity. The book, as Kingsley admits, has been forgotten, but it has been forgotten for its excellences—for "its grand and deep ethics," its "broad and genial humanity," the "divine value which it attaches to the relations of husband and wife, father and child," and the "utter absence both of that sentimentalism and that superstition which have been alternately debauching of late years the minds of the young." It is a melancholy fate for a book to be put out of sight by such virtues as these, and curious that it should have been popular in the eighteenth century, generally regarded as so defective in those directions, and have been eclipsed in the nineteenth, which regards itself as more appreciative. We quote the words to show what Kingsley found, or thought that he found, in the book, and his instincts in such a question deserve much more respect than the arguments which he invents to defend them. We can, in truth, recognize something of all this; there are indications of chivalrous sentiment, of religious fervour, and of philanthropic enthusiasm in Brooke which make us like the man in spite of his foibles; and moreover his book, or at least the first half of it, has the peculiar charm which belongs to all spontaneous work. It has an animation and vivacity which reflect the lovable aspect of an impulsive Irish temperament. But we can by no means believe that these good qualities were injurious to it; and for one simple reason amongst others—namely, that the book is also a mass of extravagance and absurdity which begins by forcing one to laugh and ends by becoming wearisome. Indeed the difficulty is to give any account of it which shall not bring the purely ludicrous side too prominently into view; and, to make it intelligible at all we must remember the peculiar conditions of the time.

The book, in fact, to which it bears the closest resemblance is the excellent didactic romance of *Sandford and Merton*. Like that more popular performance, and like Rousseau's *Emile*, it may be considered as one expression of the interest which people were then beginning to take in education from a more or less philosophical point of view. The sentimentalists of the day rejoiced in the denunciation of luxury, and prescribed by way of panacea the return to nature. Obviously it was desirable to catch your youths before they had been exposed to the corrupting influences of society, and to bring them up in such a way as to preserve their unadulterated simplicity. We need not speak of Rousseau; but we all remember how the fine gentleman Tommy is constantly brought to shame by the admirable simplicity of the virtuous rustic Harry, and what excellent precepts were administered to him by the incomparable Mr. Barlow, wrapped up for better assimilation in pretty classical anecdotes. *Sandford and Merton*, as its vitality proves, was a book of genius in its way, and, with all its priggishness, it succeeds in fitting the moral to an amusing story. In the *Fool of Quality* we have another virtuous Harry and a transcendental Mr. Barlow; but we seem to be transported altogether out of the region of common sense or ordinary human motive. Harry, the so-called Fool—he is called a fool by the wicked who mistake cunning for wisdom—is the younger son of a peer. He has luckily been put out to nurse, and so removed from the corrupting influences of polite life. To him enters a venerable gentleman in a long white beard, who is indeed no other than his long-lost uncle—long-lost relatives of different kinds being singularly abundant in the book, and being always found again at the critical moments by the most surprising coincidences. The venerable uncle has been disowned by the aristocratic father for taking to commercial pursuits, by which he has gained wealth which dazzles us like the wealth of Monte Cristo, or of the astonishing millionaires of *Lothair*. He has drawers full of guineas to the brim, and is always taking bank bills for large sums out of his pocket at a moment's notice. This charming uncle shows "the divine value which he attaches to the relation" of father and son by calmly driving off young Harry in a coach and six, and hiding him during many years from the anxious researches of his father in a splendid abode at Hampstead. Though the uncle is known far and wide by his boundless munificence, and

Harry is introduced to all manner of persons from King William III. downwards, the deserted father never hears of the admirable youth till nine years afterwards. Harry has then become heir to the peerage by the death of his elder brother, and returns to bless his father by the spectacle of his more than human perfections. Everybody has been in ecstasies over his many virtues from the first page to the last, and it is difficult to say that he is more angelic when he marries a princess at the end of the book than when he first greets his uncle at the early age of five. However, a writer is quite justified in painting ideal excellence if he only knows how, and we have no objection to Master Harry upon this score; but there is certainly something quaint in the particular ideal put forth.

One peculiarity which may possibly have had some charms for Kingsley is his amazing proficiency in all athletic exercises. At the age of five he could thrash all his companions, though he could not play cards. Whilst still a boy he could "outrun the reindeer and outbound the antelope," and "was held in veneration by all masters of the noble science of self-defence." Indeed Brooke dwells upon the details of the tricks in wrestling, cudgel-playing, and boxing—including a disagreeable habit of dashing the head into the adversary's face and stomach—with an interest which seems to imply that he must himself have been a proficient. One day Harry meets a mad mastiff. Wrapping his left arm in his coat, he dashes it into the frothing jaws of the terrible animal; then, dexterously tripping the animal's hind leg, he throws him flat on the ground; and springing into the air, descends upon the beast so as to "dash her bowels to pieces." The creature, as we are rather superfluously informed, "soon expired." But a performance of a more remarkable kind shows other qualities. A wretched deist, called Mole, ventures to speak contemptuously of the doctrine of the Atonement. Harry replies with admirable promptitude:—"You are a villain and a thief and a liar." Mole supports his argument by throwing a bottle at Harry's head. Harry, upsetting everybody who tries to hold him, rushes at Mole, prostrates him by a single blow on the temple; and then calmly sits down, sends for a surgeon, and justifies with admirable logic the rather strong language which he had used. Returning home he confesses his error to his uncle; he regrets sincerely, not that he had administered a knock-down blow, but that he could not use still better arguments. The uncle smiles complacently and provides him with a supply of more spiritual weapons for the future. Kingsley and Wesley, as we have seen, agreed in admiring Brooke's theological teaching, though we hope that neither of them would have altogether approved Harry's peculiar logic. Brooke, in fact, had learnt from a master for whom both his critics had a considerable respect. It is plain enough from the discourses that he had been a student of the later works of William Law, or perhaps of Law's teacher, Jacob Behmen. Wesley, we know, was deeply influenced by Law, and Kingsley, like Maurice, had a certain affinity for the mystics. We must not dwell upon this part of Brooke's teaching, which combines rather oddly with his athletic propensities. It is enough to say that he sympathized with a school which had little influence in his own time, except through its relations to Methodism; and that such religious sentiments had probably something to do with his retirement to a country seclusion. Day, of *Sandford and Merton*, was probably a Deist; and the infusion of a very different religious feeling gives a peculiar turn to Brooke's version of the contemporary sentimentalism. He denounces corruption and luxury, perorates about liberty, and indulges in classical anecdotes about Lycurgus, or Damon and Pythias; but we always see that his religious feeling is related to that of Law and Wesley, instead of taking the deistical turn popular with most of the sentimentalists who swore by the Savoyard Vicar.

Brooke, however, is in secular matters a sentimentalist to the verge of hysterics. His pages are crammed full of superlatives. Everybody has an angelic disposition, unless he is a devil, and Harry is almost super-angelic. His physical beauty corresponds. When he appears in a drawing-room, people cry out that the works of Praxiteles were nothing to him. We may well believe that Praxiteles would have stared; for the young gentleman is dressed in a winged golden helmet, a silk jacket, "exceeding the tint of an Egyptian sky," braced to his body with emerald clasps, and "sown with stars of different magnitudes, all powdered with diamonds." When he is restored to his father, that venerable peer declares that the lad "overpowers and suffocates him with the weight of his sentiments." People are always clasping him in their arms, bursting into ecstatic tears and kissing the hem of his garments. "Over-much striving for pathos," says Kingsley mildly, "is the fault of the book." Certainly it is one of the most grotesque faults, and it would be annoying if it were not comic. The inimitable Harry is constantly employed in works of charity as part of his education, and his charity turns out most admirably. At the age of eight or thereabouts his uncle gives him fifteen hundred pounds, and sends him with his tutor to release as many prisoners as possible from the Fleet prison. He of course discharges this delightful duty with admirable discretion; he finds virtuous persons who have been cast into prison by the cruelty of the fiends in human shape who are a necessary contrast to the angels; they tell him stories which always turn out to be strictly true; and he restores them to happiness by the simple process of taking money out of his pocket. They generally turn out to be long-lost friends or relatives of somebody who turns up at the nick of time; and if further remedies are desired, the lad has only to send to his uncle, who sends a note to

the Prime Minister, and has justice administered at once; if the villain is obstinate, a kindly death removes him. "My brother dead!" exclaims the wretched but virtuous pauper, speaking of the villainous lord whose estates and titles he is to inherit. "He is, my lord," replies the messenger; "he was suffocated by his rising cholera, and expired on the spot." *Sic semper tyrannis!* The wicked man is sure to quit the scene when his cruelty has provided a sufficient discipline for his virtuous victim.

All this and much more is perhaps ridiculous enough to justify our statement that the book may have suffered by its faults as well as by its virtues, and that it is rather hard to speak of it seriously. Harry, it seems, can hardly walk out of his uncle's back-door without finding virtue in the utmost distress, putting matters right by a sufficiency of bank-bills, and being rewarded by ecstasies and fainting-fits and sudden discoveries of identity by such recondite devices as a peculiar purple mark on long-lost gentleman's cheek. It is time therefore to add that there are really some of the good qualities which Kingsley discovers; that, if it seems rather absurd to send a child of eight to distribute 1,500*l.* in a prison, there are some eloquent and forcible remarks upon the evils of the old system of imprisonment for debt; that some commercial disquisitions show a liberal and philanthropic spirit and an appreciation of the advantages of free-trade along with much crude political economy; that, although an infidel is rather summarily knocked on the head, the religious and political sermonizing is written with enough elevation of feeling and tolerance of spirit to make us forgive the tendency to be prosy; and finally, that there is a boyish vivacity throughout, and at least one pretty story for children—that of the Three Trouts. But all this is hardly enough to give serious value to so extravagant and grotesque a performance. We lay it down with a liking for Brooke; for one must like a man who is still an impetuous and generous boy when near sixty, but we find it very hard to work steadily through to the last page.

BARGAIN-HUNTERS.

A TYPE of character which has hardly had justice done it in fiction or in comedy is the bargain-hunter. The passion for securing a bargain is a familiar psychological phenomenon. Most of us probably are able to recall from our youthful recollections the figure of the smart schoolboy who was always on the alert in the matter of purchasing from his impecunious comrades articles like pocket-knives and breast-pins at very low prices. We thought this precocious person perhaps somewhat low in his tastes and savouring too much of the petty shopkeeper. Yet we could not withhold from him a certain sort of admiration. Among adults the bargain-hunter meets us in all classes of society. There are few well-to-do householders who have not some possession which they think they obtained at a ridiculously low price, and which they are wont to display to their male guests after dinner is over and the ladies have retired. It is amusing to see the glow of proud satisfaction which comes over our host's face as he asks us to price a rare edition of a classic author, or a picture by a rising painter, and then discomfits us by giving the sum actually paid for it. It must not be supposed that this taste for getting things cheaply is confined to mercantile people. The professional man, and even the peer, no less than the vulgar *nouveau riche*, are apt to betray a fondness for the pursuit of bargaining. Nor is this taste peculiar to one sex. It is even more conspicuous among women than among men. Ladies with the strongest passion for old china are not for the most part indifferent to the market value of the dainties they secure. Their main satisfaction in possessing a rare vase may arise from a sense of its rarity; but this pleasure is sensibly increased if they are able to boast of having secured the rarity at a low price. In many women the love of bargaining becomes something like a ruling passion. They will fill up whole days with this peculiar pastime. They are ready to take long journeys and to incur much discomfort and fatigue for the sake of gratifying this curious taste. They are never so happy as when they return home laden with the spoils which have been won by their importunity and their wit.

The love of bargaining will be found to exist in very different degrees of purity. In most cases it is an accompaniment of other and more natural tastes and impulses. This remark applies to the cases of the picture-buyer and china-fancier just spoken of. The purchase is virtually the result of some sense of utility in the object to the person himself or to his friends. Here of course the word "utility" must be taken in its widest economic sense, as including all pleasure-giving qualities in things. Thus the man who hunts up old and rare books must be supposed to derive his main pleasure from possessing objects of so great curiosity. The love of bargaining presents itself in a more striking form when it leads to the purchase at low prices of objects which have no immediate utility, but may be regarded as possible utilities in the future. It has been said that we prize most of our possessions less as real present enjoyments than as possibilities of enjoyment. It is this principle which, in combination with the love of bargaining itself, leads to very much of what is known as buying things for the sake of their cheapness. The particular passion here dealt with manifests itself in its greatest intensity and purity in the habit of buying anything and everything solely *quid* cheap, and without any reference to any pleasure or advantage which may result from the purchase.

We fancy that women are most frequently addicted to this habit. It is often quite enough for them to hear that a thing is cheap. They may care nothing for its intrinsic worth. They may know nothing of the real grounds of its value. They are perfectly satisfied if they have obtained the article for something less than its full value. This is the *instantia praerogativa* of the phenomenon we are studying, and one, it need hardly be said, which meets us but very rarely.

The passion for effecting bargains in this its full development looks odd and ridiculous to the ordinary mind. We understand why a person derives an extra satisfaction from obtaining cheaply a thing which he really wants or is likely to want hereafter; but it is by no means manifest to the uninitiated why a person should rejoice merely because he has bought a commodity at an inadequate price. Indeed this kind of conduct looks very much like a practical exemplification of the logical fallacy known as *a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*. That is to say, the zealous bargain-hunter acts as if he argued that, because cheapness is a good thing in an article possessing some utility, it is a good *per se*. The passion for bargaining presents other aspects still more ludicrous than this one. When it takes full possession of a person it becomes very much like a fixed idea, and is followed with little reflection or calculation. Thus it is not at all uncommon for a person to be so bent on obtaining an article at a low price as to overlook the obvious consideration that the time employed and the expense incurred in securing it virtually raise the price paid to its normal amount, and in some cases to a point considerably above this. The bargain-hunter presents, a no less ludicrous side in his native credulity. It is a matter of common observation that a man over-anxious to secure a bargain is exceedingly liable to be imposed on. It looks as if the emotional excitement attending the pursuit blurred the vision and destroyed the power of accurate calculation. The astute tradesman who affects to bewail his suicidal weakness to the lady who has so relentlessly beaten him down is often able to indulge in a quiet laugh at her simplicity after she has retired from his shop. The love of bargaining in its intense forms thus becomes something very like a craze which at once puzzles and amuses the spectator.

What, it may be asked, is the nature of the seemingly intense pleasure which the bargain-hunter realizes? It is easy, we think, to understand some of its elements. There is, first of all, the gratification of the deep instinctive love of property. It may be reasonably supposed that the intensity of this satisfaction bears a rough proportion to the extent of the general desire for the particular object acquired, as well as to the degree of its scarcity. Cynical moralists have been wont to dwell on the admixture of elements of anti-social feeling in our ordinary motives. The love of opposing others and of triumphing over them certainly appears to enter into a large part of our daily conduct. It is plain, at least, that the gratification experienced in securing the possession of a thing generally esteemed and desired derives much of its pungency from a sense of gaining an advantage over our competitors. This satisfaction alone will often induce a man to take pains to secure an object which he does not really need or care much about. The successful bargainer, however, has an additional element of pleasure. The essential element in his success is the belief that he has obtained an article of value at a price below that which many others would be ready to give for it. He thus realizes the satisfaction of the man who outwits his rivals by superior intellectual or moral qualities. It may be added that his feeling of power is commonly gratified in these circumstances by the sight of other people's undisguised admiration. More than this, he will frequently derive a keen feeling of delight from the reflection that he has taken in the seller, who was weak enough to yield to his pressing solicitations.

The kind of satisfaction which belongs to successful bargain-driving is thus, to some extent, comprehensible to all, since it contains elements which answer to our common susceptibilities. Yet these elements do not, by a long way, account for the peculiar intensity of this pleasure, as seen in the case of the more enthusiastic bargain-hunter. In order to understand this we must assume that, in the case of these peculiarly constituted people, the instinct of property exists in special intensity from the first. Further, it may be supposed that habit has much to do with the development of the more energetic forms of this impulse. Where there is at first a strong bent of the active energies in the direction of acquisition there will naturally grow up the wish to possess objects without regard to their utility to the possessor. More than this, in such persons the desire to obtain things cheaply is pretty sure to be developed in extraordinary force, since the less that is paid for any particular thing the larger is the number of things purchasable with the person's means, and so the greater the satisfaction of the impulse to acquire. Thus the eagerness thrown into the pursuit of mere cheapness takes its force from the primitive instinct of acquisition. We must, however, make one further supposition here. The pleasure arising from the sense of obtaining a thing cheaply is at first a merely incidental satisfaction, appended, so to speak, to the original and essential pleasure of acquiring something. In the fully developed bargain-hunter this secondary pleasure is erected into something independent and self-sufficient. In the mental process which is here exemplified we see something very like what psychologists call the transference of a feeling from the end to the means, a process which is usually illustrated by the case of the love of money as an end in itself. Just as the peculiar energy of the miser's passion for gold is viewed by the psychologist as a transformation of the force contained in

the instinctive impulse to acquire, so the intensity of the bargain-hunter's passion may be viewed as flowing to a large extent from the same primary source. The chief difference between the two cases is that the desire for money scarcely owes anything to independent natural motives, whereas the desire to secure cheapness does, as we have seen, rest on certain natural feelings.

It would seem to follow from this short analysis of the impulse of bargain-hunting that it will be developed in greatest force among the most advanced mercantile communities. England is distinguished as nation of shopkeepers, and it is here that we may expect to find the passion for bargaining carried to its extreme form. It may be said perhaps that other races show a greater readiness to spend time in haggling for prices than ourselves. The English traveller cannot fail to observe the zest which the Italian throws into the process of adjusting prices. There is, however, a distinction to be drawn here. What the Italian likes is the excitement of the contest; and as prices in Italy are pretty much left to be arranged by individual purchasers and sellers, there is considerable scope for this pleasure. On the other hand, the peculiar pleasure which results from the knowledge of having obtained a thing cheaply presupposes something like a definite market value, and can therefore be more easily realized with an advanced condition of commercial relations such as is found in our own country. It does not seem improbable that in a community like ours there may be a decided inherited disposition towards the practice of bargaining. At least this is suggested by the fact that young children so naturally take to the pursuit. This supposition might help to explain the fact that women are so frequently addicted to bargain-hunting; though this could probably be accounted for by other considerations, such as the peculiar function of women in the house, the paucity of the channels open to their practical intelligence, and the emotional and moral peculiarities of the sex.

It might be interesting, if this were a fitting place for so serious a view of the subject, to trace out the bearings of this taste for bargain-hunting on economic doctrines. It is evident that the desire for commodities *qua* cheap implies an additional element of demand which the economist ignores when he treats demand as determined solely by people's need of a thing and appreciation of its intrinsic qualities. Yet oddly enough this passion, while adding to the demand for commodities, tends distinctly, in the first place at least, to lower prices, since the pleasure of the pursuit depends on the supposition that the price paid is lowered for the particular occasion. We may leave it to the trained economist to determine whether this temporary effect is not more than counterbalanced by the increase of demand which the taste for bargain-hunting ultimately effects. One thing is clear enough to ordinary intelligence, and that is, that so far as the seller succeeds in misleading his exacting customer as to the real market value of a commodity, he prevents a lowering of price even as a temporary phenomenon. On the whole, from the point of view of an impartial outsider it looks as if tradesmen had every reason to be grateful that there are so many persons ready to purchase objects solely on the ground of their supposed cheapness.

THE JUDGMENT IN THE CLEWER CASE.

THE elaborate judgment in which the Lord Chief Justice expressed last Saturday the unanimous decision of the Queen's Bench Division as to the duties of a Bishop who is called upon to take steps under the Church Discipline Act of 1840 against a clergyman within his diocese, is so conclusive and convincing that the point may be regarded as finally settled. As will be remembered, a Dr. Julius of Clewer in July last complained to the Bishop of Oxford of certain alleged irregularities of ritual on the part of Mr. Carter, the well-known rector of the parish. After some preliminary correspondence, the Bishop expressed his intention of not proceeding in the matter, alleging as his grounds the age of Mr. Carter, the fact that his ministrations were conducted in accordance with the taste of the majority of his parishioners, and the present somewhat unsatisfactory condition of the ecclesiastical law on the subject of ritual, which rendered it particularly desirable not to enter without due deliberation and good cause shown upon a litigation which might possibly result in nothing beyond expense to the parties concerned, the aggravation of religious hostilities, and indirectly in contempt and ridicule with respect to subjects which should be regarded in a very different light. This refusal, however, presupposed a discretion on the part of the Bishop as to proceedings of this nature which Dr. Julius was not prepared to acknowledge; and he accordingly applied for a mandamus to compel the Bishop either to issue the commission provided for by the Church Discipline Act to certain persons who are to investigate the charges and decide whether there is any *prima facie* ground for further proceedings, or else to transmit the case by letters of request direct to the Court of Arches. A rule *nisi* was obtained, against which the Bishop showed cause in person, counsel being also admitted to argue on behalf of Mr. Carter. The Court took time to consider its judgment, which it has now delivered. The Church Discipline Act was, so to speak, the lineal ancestor of the Public Worship Act of 1874, being partly directed, like the later statute, against deviations from the orthodox ceremonial of the Church, but also embracing offences against morality committed by persons in holy orders. The Act being in so great a measure *in pari materia* with the later one, part of the argument of

the Bishop and those who practically supported his cause was addressed to the point that the later impliedly repealed the earlier enactment; but, as will hereafter appear, this contention was obviously untenable. The battle mainly raged about the construction to be put on the third section of the Church Discipline Act. That section provides that "in every case of any clerk in holy orders . . . who may be charged with any offence against the laws ecclesiastical, or concerning whom there may exist scandal or evil report as having offended against the said laws, it shall be lawful for the Bishop of the diocese within which the offence is alleged or reported to have been committed, on the application of any party complaining thereof, or if he shall think fit of his own mere motion, to issue" the commission to the sort of grand jury before referred to; and on their report that there is *prima facie* ground for further proceedings, either the Bishop of the diocese in which the accused person holds any preferment, or the complainant may, if he think fit, institute a regular suit before the Bishop himself with three assessors. Section 13 furnishes the more usual alternative, by which the culprit's own Bishop, if he hold preferment, or if not, the Bishop of the diocese within which the offence is alleged to have been committed, may either in the first instance, or after adverse report of the Commission, send the case by letters of request to the Court of Appeal of the province—in the present case, that is, to the Court of Arches. The Bishop of Oxford strenuously contended that the words "it shall be lawful" were directory, permissive, or enabling only; that in their rational interpretation they left him an unfettered discretion whether or not under the circumstances of each case he would authorize further steps by complying with the demand of the complainant, and that even if under the Church Discipline Act he had no discretion in the matter, that Act was a dead letter, having been practically superseded by the Public Worship Act, which expressly confides such discretion to the Bishop. His minor points were that there had been no such absolute refusal on his part as would justify the issue of a mandamus, and that, even if he had no discretion and had refused, yet there existed good grounds on which the Court should exercise its unquestionable discretion and not put in force this particular branch of its jurisdiction. But on all these points he failed to convince the Court.

In his judgment the Lord Chief Justice first disposed of the case of *Reg. v. the Bishop of Chichester*, which had been much relied on by the Bishop's party. That case was an application for a mandamus under very similar circumstances, and unquestionably the application was refused. But, though the case was argued before four Judges, two of them received promotion before the judgment was delivered; so that the judgment was only that of the two remaining Judges, and of these two only one decided on the ground of the Bishop's discretion; and while the two Judges who took no actual part in the judgment signified their approval of the effect of it, there were very good reasons for believing that they did so on grounds other than that which would have made it a strong authority in the present case. Other decisions seeming to point the same way were as easily explainable, and the Court felt at liberty to form its own conclusions irrespectively of direct authority. The term "it shall be lawful" is a common one in statutory language, and it would be well if legislators and draftsmen would endeavour to produce some formula less ambiguous and more clearly expressing the exact intention of the framers of the statutes in which it occurs. In its primary sense and in common parlance it undoubtedly conveys the idea of an option, of something that a man is at liberty to do if he likes, but from which he is just as much at liberty to refrain. The English rendering of St. Paul's words "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient" affords a good instance of the ordinary use of the phrase. Inasmuch, however, as strict adherence to this construction has been found to lead in some cases to manifestly absurd results, the interpretation of the phrase is taken to depend either on the subject-matter or on the context of the enactment. By a series of authorities far too long to be even referred to here, the Lord Chief Justice conclusively demonstrated that, by an invariable canon of construction, wherever the subject-matter of a statute is a new right conferred upon public officers for the good of the general public or a section thereof, the words "it shall be lawful" as applied to the exercise of that right import an absolute duty, not a mere discretionary capacity; that, to quote an American authority, "the language used, though permissive in form, is, in fact, peremptory." The same rule applies to cases where the power is conferred with a view to the ready enforcement by individuals of a pre-existing right, as in statutes which establish new judicial tribunals or add fresh powers to the old ones. Under both these heads the Church Discipline Act falls. It constitutes the Bishop a public judicial officer, and confers powers upon him for securing to the public their right to have service performed according to the ritual of the Established Church, neither more or less; and further it seeks to secure to the nation at large the benefit of uniformity of worship. But when we turn to the context of the section of the Act in which the disputed expression occurs, we are still more irresistibly driven to the conclusion that, in this particular instance at least, "it shall be lawful for" must mean "it shall be the duty of." In several sections we find the same words recurring with such qualifications as "if he shall think fit"; nay, in the very section in which the case arose, it will be noticed that the Bishop is empowered, "if he shall think fit, of his own mere motion" to take the same steps as "it shall be lawful for" him to take on the ap-

plication of the person aggrieved. The natural and obvious deduction rendered this part of the case quite unanswerable. Then it was contended that the Public Worship Act impliedly repealed the Church Discipline Act as being a later statute covering the same ground as an earlier one, and inconsistent therewith. But the Public Worship Act expressly recognizes and preserves the authority and effectiveness of the earlier Acts, and specially of the Church Discipline Act, providing that proceedings shall not be instituted concurrently or successively under the two statutes; so there was nothing to be made of this point. The somewhat casuistical argument of the Bishop that he had not actually refused to proceed fell through on his admission that he still adhered to his former view that this was not a case in which he ought to take any proceedings; and only the last ground—namely, the circumstances of the case being such as to render it advisable for the Court, in the exercise of its discretion, to withhold the mandamus—remained for consideration. Here again the Court differed with the Bishop, holding—and we venture to think rightly—that the applicant was a parishioner, and must be taken to have acted *bona fide* in seeking to set in motion the machinery provided for the investigation and redress of grievances such as he complained of. It was practically admitted that there had been departures on the part of Mr. Carter from the authorized ritual of the Church; and, even if this had not been admitted, it was investigation, not actual or immediate adjudication, that Dr. Julius sought. The only reasons adducible before the Court were those which had influenced the Bishop, and these were purely extraneous and collateral, and wholly insufficient to deprive Dr. Julius of what the Court held to be his legal right.

The triumph obtained by the party who, rightly or wrongly, are certainly the readiest to put in force the law against those who differ from them, is not a very profitable one. Although they have established the fact that if three aggrieved parishioners cannot be found to satisfy the requirements of the Public Worship Act, one such parishioner is sufficient to set in motion the Church Discipline Act, and although they have conclusively disproved the discretionary right of the Bishop to put a stop to proceedings so commenced, they have not taken, and cannot take, the decision of the cause out of the Bishop's hands, and that discretion which is claimed at the earlier period of the case may indirectly be exercised by him at a later. In fact, the Bishop may confine his sentence to one of those monitions to the disobedience of which, according to the view taken by the Lord Chief Justice in *Martin v. Mackenzie*, no ulterior consequences attach. If the aggrieved parishioners proceed under the Public Worship Act, the Bishop may definitely and finally stop the proceedings at a very early stage. So that practically matters are left pretty much as they were, and the case affords only another evidence of the absolute uselessness of that very faultily drawn statute of 1874 which has been the cause of so much rancour and so many abortive proceedings.

REGIMENTAL EFFICIENCY.

"STICK to your regiment, my boy, and you will get on," were the words with which the anxious father of the past bade farewell to the aspiring youth of the period who, having suddenly developed into "an officer and a gentleman," was about to quit the paternal roof and enter upon the military career. The advice in question, albeit it was frequently given by those who were totally destitute of practical knowledge of the service, was sound, and, more than this, was easily followed. Let us glance at a regiment of infantry as it was some five-and-twenty years ago. We find the establishment to have been one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, twelve captains, fifteen lieutenants, ten ensigns, paymaster, quartermaster, and three surgeons, giving a total of nearly fifty officers; and it must be remembered that, with the exception of some half-dozen at the dépôt, these figures represented nearly the actual effective number of those who daily met at the mess-table. Marriage in those days was little cultivated in the army; staff billets were few and far between; if an officer showed exceptional zeal or smartness, he considered himself sufficiently rewarded by the adjutancy, or by being posted to a flank company; and altogether there was little opportunity or inducement to leave the regiment. As with the officers, so with the inferior grades. All non-commissioned officers and men borne on the muster-roll were present and effective; enlistment was for ten years certain; all ranks looked upon the regiment as their home; and, wherever the corps might be, it always preserved a jealous and separate individuality. Let us now turn to the regiment of the present. Commencing with the establishment of officers, we find a marked diminution. At present it consists of one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, ten captains, ten lieutenants, and a number of second- or sub-lieutenants, averaging from four to ten, the proportion varying according to some mysterious law understood only at the Horse Guards. The duties of paymaster are frequently performed by one of the combatant officers; and the medical department has, as a rule, severed all social connexion with the regiment. Thus the total effective of officers is now only about thirty. But even from these diminished numbers heavy deductions must be made. One major, two captains, and four subalterns are at the dépôt. One captain is in charge of a gymnasium at a distant station; another is a student at the Staff College. Of the subalterns, one is going through a course of musketry at Hythe, another is

learning signalling at Aldershot or Chatham, and two more are detached from the regiment for garrison instruction. The proportion of married officers has reached a pitch that almost calls for official interference; and, though they are not actually lost to the regiment, there can be no question that their efficiency as regimental officers is seriously impaired. As fast as the absentees return their places are taken by others, and thus a regiment can seldom reckon upon having more than twenty effective officers actually present. Moreover, we must not forget the numerous officers holding permanent staff appointments, such as brigade majors, garrison instructors, adjutants of Militia or Volunteers, aides-de-camp, &c., who do not, it is true, cause vacancies, as their places are filled up by promotion; nor are they permanently lost to the regiment, for the Commander-in-Chief has, no doubt wisely, decided that on the expiration of their term they are to perform a tour of regimental duty. But though they may rejoin, it is in most cases against the grain; their interest in the regiment, in which during their absence the changes have been so great that they hardly know either officers or men, has passed away, and they merely look forward to the time when they can again leave it.

Turning to the ranks we see the same system at work. Let us suppose a regiment just landed from foreign service. A draft from the dépôt has joined, and the commanding officer and the adjutant are hard at work distributing the men among the different companies, endeavouring to induce the more promising to accept promotion—no easy task in these days—and getting the corps generally into trim. Before long everything is confusion. One sergeant is sent to qualify in musketry at Hythe, and gives such satisfaction that he is permanently retained there. Another is sent, in the first instance as a temporary measure, to the brigade office as clerk, and for a similar reason never rejoins; a third is appointed to a military prison as warden, and a fourth becomes instructor at a gymnasium. On a certain day an order arrives that candidates are required from among the men for the Army Hospital Corps, and that none but steady and intelligent men will be accepted; on the next comes a similar call for men for the commissariat; while, to crown all, a sudden demand is made for perhaps a hundred volunteers for some regiment about to proceed on immediate active service. This steady drain of all the zeal, talent, and energy of a regiment is alike disheartening to commanding officers and detrimental to efficiency. The incessant changes necessitated by these constant removals keep the corps in a perpetual state of internal chaos. We have lately seen a case in which a captain has commanded four different companies in twelve months, and another in which a subaltern has been attached to every company in the regiment within the same period; while, as for sergeants and corporals, they might with justice repeat Artemus Ward's inquiry and ask where they are, and how long they are likely to remain there? How can it be expected that officers should take any interest in their men, or that the men should know their officers, under such circumstances? It may be urged that these demands on the *personnel* of our regiments are only made in time of peace in order that both officers and men may have necessary opportunities for studying the art of war, and that when the call to arms sounds all absentees at once rejoin. But before the regiment has well set foot on the theatre of operations the system of depletion begins again with renewed vigour. The base of supply, the lines of communication, the commissariat department, which is sure to be undermanned and overworked; the baggage trains and convoys, provost and military police, native contingents, and other auxiliary or subsidiary services—each and all require good officers, and these, in the absence of any other source, must be drawn from the regiments. Thus it would appear that at no time and under no circumstances can a British regiment ever be found to have its proper complement of officers or non-commissioned officers; in other words, it is never, not even when in presence of the enemy, tactically efficient.

Now it cannot be denied that a nation which pays a very large price for a very small army has a right to demand that the talents, abilities, and services of every individual in that army should be utilized in the most advantageous and economical manner. The question is—Are we really doing this? The march of military science has created the necessity for a number of exceptional and extra-regimental services. It has also introduced a weapon and a mode of fighting which require, above all things, good officers and steady non-commissioned officers who know and are known by their men. Our method of meeting these two demands has been to supply the former at the expense of the latter; to pay Paul by robbing Peter; in other words, to sacrifice our regimental system to our general system. With reference to this we can only observe that our regimental system, as it was, has repeatedly excited the admiration of foreign critics, who have pronounced it excellent, if not perfect. Has any one ever said half as much for our general system? This plan of making one institution do the work of two may serve for a time, but cannot last for ever. How did it happen, by the way, that in the late gallant defence of the post at Kork's Drift, upwards of eighty men had only one officer of the regiment with them, and that one a subaltern?

Before concluding let us glance at the brigade dépôt system in its regimental aspect. We may begin by saying that the virtual condemnation of it pronounced by the Secretary of State for War, in his speech on the Army Estimates, is endorsed by the best military authorities. It owed its origin to a popular demand for the localization of regiments, and in theory nothing could have been more admirable.

Regiments were to be linked in pairs, one being abroad and one at home; they were to draw their recruits from their allotted district, and thus a distinct homogeneity was to be secured for all. In practice the result has been very different; for the system has completely defeated its own object. It was found from the first that the division of the country into districts of equal or nearly equal population was faulty; for, although the population of each district might be equal, the recruit-producing power was not. In one a depression of trade or a local dispute between labour and capital would glut the market with recruits; in another not a recruit was to be had. The two battalions belonging to the former would thus be up to their establishment, which was never allowed to expand, and could take no more, the surplus being sent away, often at heavy expense, to some remote district. Thus a brigade dépôt in South Wales would be at one moment furnishing food for powder to a regiment whose home was in the North of Scotland; at another it would be unable to meet its own requirements. In the same way English brigade dépôts might occasionally be seen shipping off a draft for an Irish regiment, or vice versa, according to the exigencies or circumstances of the time. This however would of itself be a comparatively slight objection, for a few lads joining as recruits are quickly absorbed and assimilated. But when we see regiments which have in their regular turn reached the top of the roster for foreign service, and have therefore had ample time to prepare—when we see these regiments requiring men literally in hundreds to complete them for embarkation, the hopeless inadequacy of the source of supply becomes painfully apparent. The extent to which we are compelled to rely upon the makeshift and unsatisfactory system of volunteering is an acknowledgment of the weakness of our recruiting machinery, and a serious regimental evil. Among the advantages claimed for the rifle at present in use in our army one is that all its component parts are interchangeable, and that, out of a given number of weapons individually damaged, a certain proportion of serviceable ones can always be patched up. We appear to be rapidly reducing our regiments to the same level of mechanical similarity; and the process, if persevered in, must prove detrimental alike to discipline and *esprit de corps*. We have already dwelt upon the disheartening effect produced, especially on the officers of a regiment which suddenly finds itself deprived of a number of its best men; and it may be doubted whether their presence in their new regiment is an unmixed good. They join with the full conviction that they have conferred a favour on it, and think that they are to be made much of accordingly. We have not as yet noticed any falling-off in *esprit de corps*; but it should be remembered that its existence in individual regiments is perfectly compatible with a gradual deterioration in discipline of the whole. That the discipline of the army in general is not what it was is admitted by all old officers and men, and we cannot afford to take further liberties with it. As it is, the permanency and stability of regimental life are fast disappearing; but we have no time to notice, much less to deplore, the loss. With a limited supply of recruits and an unlimited amount of desertion, with one war on hand in India, another at the Cape, and a prospect of a third in Burmah, we are only too thankful to have any regiments at all, even if the majority are mere skeletons. Still it is an uncomfortable reflection that, if "Providence favours the big battalions," our chances of ultimate success are small.

THE RAILWAYS AND THE COMMISSION.

In replying to some remarks of Lord Belmore's, Lord Henniker stated in the House of Lords last week that a Bill "dealing with" the Railway Commission would be brought in very shortly; and, though this does not necessarily mean that the existence of that body in its present form is to be continued, it may be presumed that the Government intends to adhere to the decision announced in December, and that a Railway Commission of some kind is to be maintained. That the singular tribunal instituted by the Act of 1873, which latterly seems to have had nothing whatever to do, is unnecessary, and that the members of it, though undoubtedly actuated by a desire for the public good, have altogether failed to understand their position, and are not qualified for judicial work, we endeavoured to show a fortnight ago. It is of course unnecessary to recapitulate arguments so recently brought forward; but, as this court is apparently to become permanent, it may be advisable to draw attention to some facts referred to at the conclusion of the article in question, which are clearly of great importance, but are not seemingly known to the Commissioners or to others who ought to be well informed, although they could have been ascertained without any very laborious or difficult research. What these facts show may be very briefly stated. It is that there has been for a long period a constant increase in the cost of working the great railways as compared with their receipts, and that a considerable amount of traffic is carried on unremunerative terms. The Companies who own those lines are, therefore, carrying on a business which—quite irrespectively of the present depression of trade—is growing steadily worse, and it can hardly be denied that this should have been known to the Commissioners, and should receive attention now that it is proposed to continue their court, which has such large powers over railways. It may, indeed, be asked whether the facts mentioned can be considered as established. The answer is that they are to be gathered from the statistics of the Board of Trade and

from the accounts of the Companies; and it so happens that last year they were, not by any means for the first time, prominently put before the public. In the *Times* for the 27th of August, 1878, some figures, supposed to have been compiled by an eminent authority on finance, were published, which showed how small the increase of income obtained from increased capital expenditure had been of late years, and that the working expenditure had risen. Subsequently, in *Fraser's Magazine*, the subject was taken up by Mr. F. R. Conder, who, by the aid of these statistics and of many others which he brought forward, proved that the cost of working the great railways had long been rising, and was still rising, as compared with the receipts, and that this steady deterioration of business was due to the unremunerative nature of some of the traffic. Now that legislation respecting railways seems likely to be attempted, it may be well to recall the analysis of the Board of Trade returns and of railway accounts contained in his very able article and the ominous figures which appeared in the *Times*. The part of the railway question to which they relate is assuredly not unimportant.

The period over which the statistics referred to by Mr. Conder extend is a considerable one, amounting to nearly twenty years. Since 1860 the Board of Trade has published summaries from which the proportion of working expenses to gross receipts could be ascertained. What these statistics prove, therefore, does not relate to a time of prosperity or depression, but to a time long enough to show definitely whether the business of the Companies has been improving or not. On this point the figures leave no room for doubt. In 1860 the average working cost of railways was 47 per cent. of the gross income. In 1875 it was 54 per cent., so that, as Mr. Conder observes, the cost of working railways had up to 1875 increased at the annual rate of nearly 1 per cent., and in that year out of every 100*l.* received there was 7*l.* less for shareholders than in 1860. Latterly the increase in expenditure has been much more rapid. From the statistics published in the *Times* it appears that between 1873 and 1877 the working charges of the London and North-Western Railway rose from 52 to 54 per cent. of the receipts; those of the Midland from 51 to 53; those of the Great Northern from 54 to 56; and those of the North-Eastern from 52 to 54. But these figures do not by any means represent the real rise in railway expenditure. Owing to the great fall which has taken place in the prices of coal and iron, there should have been a large reduction in the cost of working. Mr. Conder takes the case of the Midland, and shows that with this railway the fall in the price of coal alone ought to have caused a reduction of 10 per cent. Instead of this, there was a rise of 4 per cent. With the other railways mentioned there has been the same increase when there should have been a considerable diminution. It would be difficult to exaggerate the gravity of these facts, which prove—putting aside an assumption of gross and wanton mismanagement, which would be absurd—that a good deal of traffic is carried on terms that either involve a loss or are unremunerative. It might be thought that there would be little difficulty in ascertaining from the accounts of the Companies what traffic is unprofitable. Such, however, is not the case. It seems impossible to discover from the figures published by them what portion of their business is yielding them a good return and what portion is not. By comparing, however, the receipts and expenditure on different lines, and the proportion of goods and passenger traffic which is carried on them, it has been found practicable to ascertain the facts which ought to be shown by the accounts, but are apparently altogether hidden by them. It seems tolerably clear that much of the passenger traffic pays well, but that on the great lines a portion of the goods traffic—under which term we include mineral traffic—either does not pay at all or pays very badly. We have not space to follow Mr. Conder through all the comparisons by which he supports this view, but a few apposite facts cited by him may be given. It appears that in 1876 the Brighton Railway earned 4,954*l.* a mile, and the South-Eastern 5,290*l.* a mile, 71·46 per cent. of the Brighton revenue and 70·92 per cent. of the South-Eastern revenue being obtained from passengers. The working expenses were 48·82 and 48·05 per cent. respectively. During the same year the Midland and North-Eastern Railways earned 4,992*l.* and 4,429*l.* a mile, 31·84 per cent. of the Midland income and 27·30 per cent. of the North-Eastern income being obtained from passengers. The working expenses were respectively 54·07 and 53·36 per cent. of the gross receipts, although the last-mentioned Companies obtained their coal at half or a third of the price which the others had to pay. A similar conclusion to that indicated by these figures seems to follow from a general comparison of another kind. Between 1869 and 1873 there was, to use Mr. Conder's language, "a transference of 10 per cent. of gross revenue from the passenger to the merchandise trains," and this was "coincident with a falling off by 14 per cent. in the rate of net saving by the corresponding increase of working expenses."

It is to be noticed that there are reasons for supposing that the wear and tear caused by the heavy goods traffic is greater than it has generally been supposed to be; but certainty on this point has not yet been attained. That the decrease in the earning power of the great railways, which of late has become so large, is due to the goods traffic, or, in other words, to the terms on which a portion of that traffic is carried, seems little doubtful. It need hardly be said that Mr. Conder and the *Times* have not been alone in drawing attention to this matter. It has frequently been alleged that much of the mineral traffic of the Railway Companies was carried

at a loss; but nowhere have the facts relating to increase of expenditure been put in so clear and definite a form as in the article and statement referred to. We should add that the justice of the conclusions stated by Mr. Conder, and by those who hold views similar to his, has recently been proved in a remarkable manner. During the second half of 1878 the decrease of trade on the North-Eastern Railway was very large, the principal diminution being in the mineral traffic; yet the dividend was only a quarter per cent. lower than it had been for the second half of 1877. The almost inevitable inference is that a large amount of the mineral traffic was carried on terms which were either unremunerative or remunerative only in a very small degree. It is to be hoped that as such very cogent evidence of the justice of the conclusions drawn by Mr. Conder and by others who have studied the subject has been afforded since the publication of his article, the facts on which those conclusions are based will now receive some attention. Hitherto, in spite of the efforts which have been made to direct notice to them, they seem to have been thought worthy of little consideration or to have been speedily forgotten. The railway monopoly is often complained of, and no doubt any abuses of it should be carefully guarded against; but it does not seem to be remembered that a monopoly must be largely qualified when the monopolists find their expenses as compared with their receipts constantly increasing, and when much of their work yields them scarcely any remuneration. The Reports of the Railway Commissioners afford singular proof of the ignorance on this subject which prevails even amongst those who ought to be most conversant with railway questions. As these modest officials have taken on themselves to instruct Parliament as to the measures which it should pass, it might have been expected that they would have endeavoured to make themselves really acquainted with the present condition of railways; but no sign whatever of any knowledge of some of the most important facts bearing on this subject is to be found in their utterances. The very last impression which any reader would derive from their Reports is that the proportion of railway expenses to receipts is constantly increasing, and that on a large amount of traffic there is either very small gain or a loss. The inference, on the contrary, would be that the Railway Companies are obtaining great and undue advantage from their monopolies, and are able to enforce oppressive terms. When it is remembered that the Commissioners have had to do principally with goods traffic, it certainly seems strange that their acquaintance with the actual state of railways should be so deficient; but it is only fair to them to add that other men from whom careful attention to railway questions was to have been expected seem to have been indifferent to the conclusions which are indisputably to be drawn from many statistics extending over a considerable period.

There can scarcely be room for doubting that, if the state of things which these figures make manifest continues for long, serious evil must follow, not only to shareholders, but also to other sections of the public, and the question of the best manner of preventing them can hardly fail to arise. One remedy immediately suggests itself. There appears, on the whole, to be a good profit on passenger traffic, with a small profit or none at all on a portion of the goods traffic. Why not, it may be said, lower fares, and raise some of the rates for goods. This seems simple enough, but nevertheless it may be safely asserted that such a proceeding would be found to be enormously difficult. The lowering of passengers' fares would of course be joyfully acquiesced in; but directly the rates for goods were raised, there would be a general outcry; and indeed it is clear that in the present state of trade an increase in the cost of transport of goods might have very grave consequences. Perhaps, when the long expected revival comes, the Companies may be able to extricate themselves from the position in which they are now placed. At present it cannot be denied that the position is a bad one, and the facts of which we have spoken should certainly be taken into consideration if Parliament is to be asked to pass a measure affecting railways.

A CHURCHYARD SQUABBLE.

THE Rev. Wickham Tozer, Independent minister at Ipswich, is the happy father of a son who has "written favourably" of the Church. Perhaps it is on this account that Mr. Tozer considers himself bound to write unfavourably of the clergy. In this way the balance of public opinion is properly regulated, and what the son gives the father takes away. Unfortunately for his peace of mind, Mr. Tozer has lately taken to writing about himself as well as about the clergy. The little incident in which he and Mr. Drury have lately played a part would never have attained to more than local fame had it not been for Mr. Tozer's literary faculty. He had been engaged in what he calls "a brush" with Mr. Drury, and, not content with carrying his point, he must needs become his own bard, and recite his heroic achievements in the *East Anglian Times*. It is fair to Mr. Tozer to state that he went through the form, at all events, of wishing to pass this function on to somebody else. "It is a disagreeable duty," he said, "and the more so that I have been unfortunately a principal in the affair." But Mr. Tozer's love of letters is evidently his weak point. If he had been applied to as a Dissenting minister, he might have refused to write a word; but when "they appealed to him, saying 'You are accustomed to this sort of thing'—i.e. to literary work"

—his powers of resistance failed him. From that moment his first thought was how to make his narrative worthy of the deeds that had been done and of the hero who had done them. Though he had not so much as been inside the churchyard during his controversy with Mr. Drury, he felt that he could not write about the affair without viewing the church and taking notes of the "physical condition of the place." It may be said, in passing, that it is only the material temple that presents anything to take notes about. As regards the spiritual temple, the parishioners are all Dissenters, and on the rare occasions in which there is service in the church no one appears to come to it. Having thus, morally speaking, blacked himself all over, Mr. Tozer took a cup of tea and went home. There, in the sacred silence of his own study, he invoked the muse of sacred history and described his battle with Mr. Drury. The conflict had its origin in the burial of an unbaptized child. Mr. Drury, being in this plainly within his legal rights—indeed, supposing the fact that the child was unbaptized to have been formally brought to his knowledge, only yielding obedience to the law—had refused to read the burial service over it, but had gone to the churchyard for the purpose of accompanying the body to the grave. Perhaps Mr. Drury has by this time owned to himself that, if he had asked no questions and been told nothing by the parish clerk, the churchyard would not have been more desecrated by the illegal reading of the burial service than by the scarcely edifying controversy which was actually held there. When Mr. Drury reached the churchyard, he became at once aware that an unauthorized service was going on, and, in his indignation at this discovery, he seems to have forgotten to take notice where the unauthorized service was going on. Had the scene been the churchyard, Mr. Tozer would have been plainly in the wrong, and Mr. Drury plainly in the right. As it happened, however, it was not in the churchyard, but in a field outside; and, for anything that appears to the contrary, Mr. Drury had no legal power to say what should or should not be done in this field. Apparently Mr. Drury has no very clear idea as to the precise limits of his spiritual jurisdiction, for he admits that he told Mr. Tozer that he had no right to hold a service in the field—a statement which might have been pertinent in the mouth of the owner of the meadow, but had no meaning at all in the mouth of the rector of the parish. After some wrangling between Mr. Drury and Mr. Tozer, which perhaps is invested with greater circumstance in Mr. Tozer's narrative than might have been imparted to it by a less excited historian, Mr. Drury went home. Being determined, however, that, so far as he was concerned, there should be not even an apparent connexion between the unauthorized service in the field and the actual interment in the churchyard, he locked the churchyard gate and took the key away in his pocket. After Mr. Drury had gone, Mr. Tozer finished the service, about which nothing is told except one singular fact relating to Mr. Tozer's health. We have it on his own evidence that, while praying, he had his hat off, but when reading Scripture he did not take his hat off, because it was dangerous to his health to do so. The fact that Mr. Tozer finds that, while praying, he can safely face a degree of cold which while reading would be dangerous to him, is, we presume, to be explained by the greater internal heat which is evolved during the extemporaneous, and consequently more exciting, process. When the service was over, the mourners got somehow or other into the churchyard, and put the child silently into the grave.

Up to this time Mr. Tozer had clearly had the best of the controversy. He had carried his point as regards the service in the field, and he had taken the part in the actual interment which Mr. Drury had in the first instance proposed to take. If he had stopped here all would have been well, and the proprietors of the *East Anglian Times* would not have had to pay the costs in the action Drury v. Wilson. But to the weakness for literary distinction already noticed in Mr. Tozer there seems to have been added a desire to bear a certain répute for physical prowess. The modern reverence for athleticism has penetrated even to Congregationalist circles at Ipswich, and Mr. Tozer may have felt that an unvarnished but still complimentary description of the manly way in which he had stood up to Mr. Drury might stimulate and deepen the esteem of the flock for the pastor. The double temptation was too much for him. In the next number of the *East Anglian Times* there appeared the account of what had occurred at the funeral, which constituted the libel. It is interesting to mark how the physical vigour of Mr. Tozer is glorified throughout the narrative. In his assumed character of an impartial bystander Mr. Tozer described himself as looking involuntarily "at the physique of the two gentlemen, estimating their comparative strength and powers of endurance," and hardly daring to think of what might happen. Mr. Drury's statement that the child had not been baptized, and was not, therefore, a Christian, is stated to have "produced an instantaneous effect upon Mr. Tozer," and upon this point Mr. Tozer must be admitted as a witness not to be impeached. When, however, he goes into the details of this instantaneous effect, we cannot but think that on one point he draws a little on his imagination. It is quite possible that he "drew himself to his full height (close upon six feet), and brought his right arm dangerously near Mr. Drury's head, his eyes flashing fire, and his voice trembling with emotion"; and as regards his measurement of himself, and the proximity of his arm to Mr. Drury's head, his evidence is plainly as good as can be had. We are willing further to take his testimony as to the trembling in his voice, since when a man is in a passion, he has usually some difficulty in guiding that organ. But we doubt whether any man ever saw fire

flashing from his own eyes, unless, indeed, he was lying flat on his back, as the result of some one else's arm having been brought into dangerous proximity to his head. Of the rhetorical ornaments with which Mr. Tozer's contribution to the *East Anglian Times* was adorned there is no need to speak. As soon as the narrative is admitted to be the work of one of the principal combatants strict accuracy is not to be looked for. No man can remember exactly what he said in a state of great excitement. The verdict of the jury probably represents with substantial correctness the facts of the case. The report which appeared in the *East Anglian Times* was not close enough to the truth to justify a verdict for the defendant; but the variations, though libellous, were not sufficiently so to call for heavy damages.

We prefer not to dwell upon any more serious aspect of this affair. It is not one which reasonable people, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, can regard with any satisfaction. Mr. Drury would have sacrificed no principle by waiting quietly in the churchyard until the service in the field was over. Mr. Tozer would not have been less apostolic in his demeanour if he had kept his arm and his flashing eye to himself, and postponed a service presumably designed to comfort the mourners until the coffin had been placed in the grave. As it is, he has given a great deal of amusement to a crowded court, and supplied Serjeant Parry with an occasion for what he must be supposed to consider a strain of noble invective. With these triumphs it is to be hoped he is satisfied. It will probably be hardly necessary to advise the editor of the *East Anglian Times*, the next time that he applies to Mr. Tozer for a contribution, to make sure that Mr. Tozer is describing the deeds of others rather than his own. Any little lesson of this sort is usually mastered with surprising rapidity when it is impressed on the memory by a bill of costs.

PRICES IN THE EXPORT TRADE.

THERE has just been issued as a Parliamentary paper a Report addressed by Mr. Giffen to the Secretary of the Board of Trade, which brings out very clearly the importance of a point too often neglected in discussions respecting the falling-off in our trade. We hear a great deal of the shrinkage of our exports, of the severity of foreign competition, of the danger of our losing our old manufacturing and commercial supremacy; but the real character of the depression so much complained of is too generally ignored. The object of Mr. Giffen's Report is to bring this out into clear relief; to show that, in fact, it is a shrinkage of prices we are witnessing, far more than a diminution in the quantity of business done. In a paper read before the Statistical Society two months ago Mr. Giffen touched upon this point. But the paper in question only incidentally dealt with the matter; its direct purpose was to establish the fact of a fall of prices, to measure its extent, and trace its causes. In the Report to which we would now direct attention we have, indeed, confirmatory proof of the fall, but the aim of the writer is different; it is to show how fluctuations in price have affected the aggregate value of our exports, at one time swelling, at another dwarfing it, and thus giving an appearance alternately of prosperity and adversity. The manner in which Mr. Giffen works out the conclusions at which he arrives may not be readily intelligible to persons who are unused to statistical inquiry; and, as the Report is really of very high value, it may be worth while to explain his method in some detail. Any one who opens one of the Board of Trade returns of our imports and exports will see that of most of the articles both the quantity and the declared value are given; but some are lumped together as "unenumerated," their value alone being stated; and, even of the enumerated, there are several whose quantity, for one reason or another, is not recorded. These two classes Mr. Giffen has to put aside, as he has no means of discovering the prices of the commodities they include. But of those articles whose quantity and value are both given it is easy to determine, by a mere sum in division, the average prices for any number of years we choose. It is of course necessary to fix a limit somewhere; and Mr. Giffen decided to begin with 1861 and come down to the latest year for which he had the returns, which was 1877. He selected this period for two reasons. In the first place, in 1861 the great gold discoveries in California and Australia had produced their effect in depreciating the metal; and, in the second, we have had in the interval two periods of inflation and of depression. The first inflation period began in 1863 and ended in 1866; it was followed by a period of depression; and then there set in a second inflation in 1871, which lasted till 1873, since which time we have once more been suffering from depression. Thus the interval from 1861 to 1877 embraces two trade cycles. But how are we to demonstrate the effects of the fluctuations in price? By what is known as the method of an "index number." Mr. Giffen ascertained the percentage for a series of years of the value of each of the enumerated articles relatively to our whole export trade, and he added up these percentages to make an index number, or standard of comparison. For example, he found that in 1875 cotton yarn was 5·9 per cent. of the value of the exports, plain piece goods 14·9 per cent., plain linen 2·6, coals 4·3, railroad iron 2·4, and so on. Adding the whole together in 1875, the last year for which the details existed when the computations were made, he found that they gave a sum of 73·1, and this figure he took as the standard

with which he was to compare other years. Assuming that the quantities remained stationary throughout the period 1861-77, the problem was to determine what would be the increase or decrease of value upon 1861 of the inflation years 1865 and 1873, and of the years of depression, 1868, 1875, 1876, and 1877. Mr. Giffen is at pains to show that it is indifferent what year he took to get his index number. To make his calculations rigorously complete it would no doubt be requisite to take the index number given by each year of his series, and apply it to all the rest. But if he had done so, the calculations would have been more perplexing than instructive. He has satisfied all reasonable requirements by showing that, if he had selected either 1873 or 1861, the result would have been substantially the same.

The results at which Mr. Giffen arrived are full of instruction. Taking the index number 73·1 as the standard or unit, supposing the prices of 1861 to rule, we find that with the inflation prices of 1865 this index number is increased to 95·81, and with the inflation prices of 1873 to 93·7. That is to say, if no increase of quantity had taken place in the exports between 1861 and 1873, the mere rise of prices that occurred in the inflation periods would have added 22·71 per cent. to the value of the exports in 1865, and 20·6 per cent. to their value in 1873. This is, of course, on the assumption that the unenumerated articles also remained stationary in quantity, and went up in the same proportion in price. We have already said that there are no data for ascertaining the prices of these articles; but it seems a reasonable assumption that they were affected by the same market fluctuations that influenced the bulk of our trade. The above figures show how enormously values are swollen by rise of price. Let us now see what changes they underwent in consequence of a fall. In 1868, which was a year of depression, the index number 73·1 would be increased by only 9·99—that is to say, still assuming quantities to be stationary, the prices of 1868 would increase the value of the exports of 1861 by nearly 14 per cent. Although, therefore, there was depression in 1868 as compared with the year preceding the Overend failure, prices were decidedly higher than in 1861. We find the same thing in 1875. There was reaction from the inflation prices of the period immediately following the Franco-German war, but still prices were higher than they had been in 1861. In 1876, however, the level of 1861 was very nearly reached. The index number 73·1, at the rates of 1876, would be increased only by 1·17. And in 1877 the fall went below the level of 1861; as much as 2·04 would have to be deducted from the index number, making it 71·06 instead of 73·1. The details for 1878 not being yet available, Mr. Giffen was unable to continue his investigations into that year; but it is notorious that prices have been steadily declining, and that at this moment they are much lower than they were in 1877. The long depression which has prevailed for nearly six years has thus brought down prices lower than they have been at any previous time during the past twenty years. In the paper read before the Statistical Society to which we have already referred, Mr. Giffen showed that they are lower than they have been at any former time since the great gold discoveries, and he thence inferred that gold is becoming scarce and dear. But we shall not go into that question now, as the immediate subject before us is in itself sufficiently interesting and important. We may, however, note that the inflation of 1865 was greater than that of 1873, the addition to the index number in the former year being 22·71, and in the latter only 20·6. This fact is undoubtedly suggestive when coupled with that to which we have just been adverted—the greater drop of prices now. But to go back to the influence of prices on the value of the export trade; we should add that Mr. Giffen verifies his conclusions by another method, that of calculating the quantities of one year at the prices of another, and the result is thus stated in his own words:—"While the declared value of the articles in question (the enumerated) in 1873 was 192,454,000*l.*, the value of the quantities of the same articles actually exported in 1877 was, at the prices of 1873, 191,530,000*l.*, or hardly a perceptible falling off. . . . To put the matter in another way, it appears that the value of the exports of these enumerated articles actually declared in 1877 was 147,801,000*l.*, as compared with the above sum of 191,530,000*l.*, which is the value they would have been entered at with the prices of 1873. The difference is 43,729,000*l.*, which amounts to 22·3 per cent. by which the average prices in 1877 have been reduced as compared with 1873."

The result of the figures thus is that between 1873 and 1877 there was a fall of prices averaging 22 per cent., or over one-fifth; and that in consequence of this fall the exports of the later year were proportionately less in value, but that in quantity there was no material falling off. Of course, standing still with a growing population is really going backwards; but the figures we have cited dispose of all the loose talk one hears about loss of trade. Practically our foreign customers buy from us as much as ever. We have not lost ground, or, if we have lost in some quarters, we have gained in others, and on the whole remain very much as we were. Even if it be admitted that the trade is unprofitable, the state of things disclosed differs vastly from an inability to maintain competition. We still have command of the markets, and if prices are low and unremunerative, they will no doubt be better some day, and then we shall make up for our losses. But is it true that the great fall of prices which has occurred has, in anything like the same proportion, reduced the profits of trade? Mr. Giffen is careful not to commit himself to an answer to this question, and we will

imitate his caution. But we may repeat his observation that, if there has been a corresponding reduction in the price of raw materials and of the chief articles of consumption of the working classes, the fall of prices has been not only not injurious, but actually beneficial by enabling a smaller capital to do the work of a larger, and by stimulating consumption. That the prices of raw materials have declined with those of other commodities admits of no doubt. And it also seems that the cheapness of bread makes up, to a large extent at least, for reduction of wages. Yet it is to be borne in mind, as Mr. Giffen points out, that a large proportion of our exports consists of minerals and other produce of our own soil, and it would be a bold thing to say that the real return for these is as great at the reduced prices as it was at the higher. Upon the whole, then, we must leave the question undecided. But it is very evident that lower prices do not necessarily and invariably imply loss or even diminished profits, and that a great deal of our trade must be as advantageous as ever it was.

THE THEATRES.

IN a recent trial—which unfortunately was never brought to a conclusion—a number of dramatic authors testified with perfect gravity to a very singular and humorous custom that has long existed in the profession. According to the evidence of these gentlemen, given under circumstances which compel the belief that they were in earnest, it is the recognized right of English authors to describe a translation from the work of a foreign dramatist as "a new play." That these words should be commonly held to bear a different signification is, we are assured, only due to the lamentable ignorance and stupidity of the English public, which will persist in interpreting the announcements of a play-bill by reference to the ordinary principles of the English language. The theatre, we are given to understand, has a dialect of its own, which is not to be confused with the vulgar tongue. Of course it would be possible, upon the familiar principle of calling a spade a spade, to describe a translation as being in fact a translation; but such a proceeding would involve an unwarrantable concession to a foolish prejudice, and it might even convey an idea to the audience that to the English author was not due the entire credit of the performance. It appears, however, that, even in the judgment of the profession, there is a certain convenience in distinguishing between plays which are borrowed from a foreign source and those which are of native production; and accordingly a custom has arisen of specially reserving the word "new" for translations, and of granting the title "new and original" to plays that are indeed the work of their English authors. According to the evidence given at this interesting trial, English dramatists would appear to be somewhat pained and distressed that these interesting little ways of their profession should not be generally appreciated. They are evidently irritated at the bare suspicion that their conduct could be held wanting in candour towards the public, and we are therefore doing them a real service in making this established custom of the trade as widely known as possible. Their case is not altogether unlike that of an enterprising butterman, who was not long ago brought before one of the metropolitan magistrates on the charge of selling as fresh butter what was shown to be not butter at all. The ill-used tradesman fully admitted the exactness of the analysis, but he claimed to be acquitted on the ground that he had not offered his wares for sale as fresh butter, but only as "fresh," and he succeeded in establishing the fact that "fresh" was a compound well known to the trade, and that it was only an ignorant public by whom it was occasionally confused with butter.

The dramatist may perhaps have as good a defence as the butterman; but we think the public has a clear right to demand that the custom, once established, should be strictly observed. Having at last reconciled ourselves to the paradox that a "new play" means a translation from the French, we ought not to be tortured by any fresh ingenuities of language. It is therefore matter for regret that the authors of the *Crimson Cross*, which has been lately produced at the Adelphi Theatre, should so completely have broken with a time-honoured tradition. In describing their work they do not make use of any of the terms which have long found a place in our play-bills. The *Crimson Cross*, it would seem, is not a drama, but "a romance of French history"; and, instead of being divided into acts, it is, for some obscure reason, broken up into "chronicles." And, as a further disappointment, it is neither "new" nor "new and original," but in the making of it the authors have "consulted" authorities. At first sight it might be thought that no acknowledgment could be more complete than that which has here been made by Messrs. Saville Rowe and E. Manuel. They have owned their indebtedness to all those writers who "have previously treated this romance," including "Monstrelet (*Annales de France*), Alex. Dumas the elder, and MM. Anicet Bourgeois and Lockroy." But, having gone so far, it would have been well, in the interests of an ignorant public, if they had been even more explicit. They might with perfect propriety, have added that Monstrelet was not a dramatist, and that MM. Anicet Bourgeois and Lockroy were not historical authorities. Indeed, to be absolutely scrupulous, they might have said that these last-named writers were the authors of a melodrama called *Perrinet Leclerc*, of which the *Crimson Cross* is an adaptation. Our present concern, how-

ever, is rather with the play itself than with its parentage, and we are forced to declare that, in spite of the numerous "authorities" who have been "consulted" during the process of production, the result is eminently discouraging. In what proportion the blame is to be distributed among the four dramatists it would not be profitable to inquire; all that can be safely said is that poor Monstrellet is clearly not responsible in the matter, for although he is quoted first among the "authorities" and the action is divided into "chronicles," he had confessedly no share in the composition of the drama. The radical defect in the *Crimson Cross* is almost inseparable from the general scheme of its construction. We do not, of course, demand in the case of melodrama that individual character should be developed with sustained imaginative power. It is enough if the portraiture is sufficiently vivid to give effect to the various striking situations in which the persons of the drama are presented. But the allowance that is readily made in regard to these higher elements of dramatic art only renders us the more exacting in all that concerns the coherence and progress of the plot. In melodrama circumstance takes precedence of character, and it is to the interest that can be excited in the fate and fortunes of the actors, rather than to their personality, that the author must look for his hold over the audience. It is here, however, that a play like the *Crimson Cross* displays its incurable weakness. At the rise of the curtain we are led to believe that the central point of attraction is to be found in the loves of Queen Isabel of Bavaria and the Chevalier de Boisredon; but before the second act closes Boisredon vanishes from the scene, and the audience is left to look elsewhere for a new source of interest. The attention is thenceforward distracted by the competing claims of several characters, none of whom decisively occupies a predominant position. We might perhaps follow with sufficient eagerness of expectation the romantic fortunes of Perrinet Leclerc, if we were not distracted by the prominence which the authors have chosen to give to the figure of the Queen on the one hand, and Count d'Armagnac on the other. Indeed the amount of labour bestowed upon the part of Isabel by the authors as well as by the actress is out of all proportion to the value which the character possesses in the general scheme of the piece. Miss Neilson is scarcely to be blamed for imperfections which are partly dependent upon the imperfect skill of the authors, who have entirely failed to realize the conception they have themselves suggested. The passion displayed by this unfortunate lady is fragmentary and inconsequent. The scene with her lover is worked out with a completeness of detail which renders her acceptance of the news of his death altogether inadequate, and it may be said generally that her character is made to reflect with curiously unequal force the varying trials and sufferings which are supposed to exercise a powerful influence upon her life. Mr. Neville is well suited with the part of Perrinet; but he is not allowed sufficient scope to give full effect to his resources. Here, as indeed throughout the play, the authors have allowed themselves to be overpowered by the abundance of their material, and this is the more to be regretted seeing that the writing, save in some passages of attempted humour, is often of real excellence. Having at their disposal the services of a number of eminent actors, the authors have apparently been misled by the desire to do justice to the powers of all, and they have consequently left their work without government or sequence.

The value of the element of simplicity in dramatic art is admirably illustrated by the success of the *Ladies' Battle* at the Court Theatre. Mr. Hare, it may be observed, does not countenance the use of theatrical jargon, preferring to name the French source from which the play was adapted by the late Mr. Robertson. The *Ladies' Battle* has been tried at several morning performances, and the result of the experiment more than justifies the announcement that it will from henceforth take a permanent place in the programme for the evening. Its unqualified success is all the more satisfactory because it is entirely due to the excellence of the acting, and not to any element of novelty in the drama. That a play so well known and so constantly chosen for amateur performance should be greeted with enthusiasm when produced at a popular London theatre proves at least that the general body of playgoers are gradually acquiring more cultivated perception of the true sources of intellectual pleasure to be derived from the theatre. It may, however, be questioned whether, after the presentation of the piece by the members of Mr. Hare's company, amateurs will ever have the heart to attempt it again; and, save for certain facilities in regard to scenic arrangements, we much doubt if it could under any circumstances have been suitable for unlearned performers. To take only the character now so admirably played by Mrs. Kendal, it is obvious that no one but a trained and skilful actress could give effect to the author's intention. The conflict of emotion requires so much nicety of art, and such complete control over varying modes of expression, that the powers of even an accomplished actress are fairly tested in the process. Those who have remarked in some of Mrs. Kendal's recent performances a tendency to undue emphasis of style will be agreeably surprised at the reticence and control which she here exhibits, and it may be questioned whether her talent has for a long time been so fortunately employed. The display of passion is everywhere adequate, and yet at the same time so carefully measured in its force, as never to strain the slender framework of the play. In the hands of a less competent actress, it would be easy to raise a suspicion that the emotions with which the authors have here chosen to deal are too strong and too serious for the plot with which they are associated;

but Mrs. Kendal, by the skill with which she adapts herself to the conditions of her work, makes us forget the fragile structure in which the character is enshrined. This criticism is indeed applicable to the performance as a whole. The careful elaboration of subtle points of manner and gesture, by which Mr. Hare builds up a vivid portrait, is seen to advantage in the part of the shrewd *préfet*, whose diplomatic skill is yet no match for a woman's wit, made keener by love, and if Mr. Kendal's impersonation of Grignon seems to lack something of this delicacy and refinement, the fault is in part at least inherent in the somewhat crude conception which the authors have here left the actor to work out. The general sobriety and decorum of the representation at the Court Theatre strangely contrasts with the performance of *David Garrick*, which has lately been revived at the Haymarket Theatre. Playgoers will doubtless be ready to be indulgent towards the shortcomings of the actors at the Haymarket for the sake of again welcoming Mr. Sothern in his first appearance on the London stage after his recent indisposition. But for Mr. Sothern's sake especially it could be wished that the management had taken more care to fill the subordinate parts in a worthier manner.

REVIEWS.

HOOKER AND BALL'S MOROCCO AND THE ATLAS.*

MOROCCO is a peculiar country in many respects. It lies, it has lain since the beginning of history, quite close to the most civilized and best-known regions of the world, and has yet itself remained almost unexplored. Part of it belonged to the Roman Empire, and that part is the one bit of the Roman Empire which has never been recovered for civilization. It is also a fragment of the East, anchored, so to speak, far out in the West; a country more thoroughly and intensely Mohammedan, and therefore Eastern, than any other (except perhaps Turkistan) where Islam prevails, yet lying on the shores of the Atlantic, at a prodigious distance from Arabia and the centre of Mohammedan life. Nor is it less interesting in a scientific point of view. Meteorologically, it is curious to find a region so dry on the edge of the ocean, and traversed by ranges of lofty mountains—a region which, in fact, shades off into the rainless Sahara. Botanically, it is the meeting point of the Atlantic and Mediterranean flora-types, with many remarkable species and even several genera peculiar to itself. And the ethnology, of which so little is yet known, presents no less curious problems. Almost any account of such a country ought to be interesting, much more one given by two such accomplished men of science and practised writers as Sir Joseph Hooker and Mr. Ball. Those who have enjoyed the brilliant "Himalayan Journals" of the one and the *Alpine Guide* of the other—the only guide-book ever written which (as a German climber once remarked to us) may be read like a novel—will be prepared to find this volume of travels attractive in its form and manner, as well as solidly instructive in its substance. It is based on the diaries of both travellers, with some contributions from Mr. Maw, who was for a time a third in the party. But the actual writing seems to be chiefly from the pen of Mr. Ball. He has adopted the plan of giving the book the form of a continuous sort of diary-narrative, in which each day's march and events are chronicled with some minuteness. It is a plan apt to be tedious in unskillful hands, since it generally involves repetition, and diverts the reader's attention from important observations to the trivial details of travel. But Mr. Ball has so dexterously interwoven his remarks upon the people and the country with the actual experiences he describes, has so contrived to make his reflections arise out of the incidents, that we follow his steps with unflagging interest, and seem to realize, not only what Morocco is like, but the points wherein travel there differs from travel in countries we have visited ourselves. At the same time we are inclined to wish—it is the only defect we can discover in the book—that he had also grouped his observations on the country and its peoples, their social and economical state, their manners and character, into two or three general chapters, like those admirable ones in which he and Sir Joseph Hooker discuss the botanical phenomena which Morocco and the Atlas present. Still, although botanical research was the main object of the journey, two such practised observers have also much to tell us of the life, ways, habits, and ideas of the natives. And the number of Latin plant-names scattered over the pages need not frighten the least scientific reader, who will find plenty of interesting matter over and above the science altogether.

The travellers started from Gibraltar in March, and after touching at Tangier and one or two other harbours on the Atlantic coast, finally landed at Mogador, the principal port in the south-west of the country, and the place where most of that handsome brass-work which one sees exposed for sale at Tangier is made. An interesting account is given of its climate, which seems, owing chiefly to the prevalence of cool north-east winds and the protection which the Atlas gives against the scorching winds of the Desert, to be the most equable known within the Temperate zone.

* *Journal of a Tour in Marocco and the Great Atlas.* By Joseph Dalton Hooker, K.C.S.I., C.B., and John Ball, F.R.S., M.R.I.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

They suggest that it would be, were proper accommodation and some little society or other diversion attainable, an admirable winter sanatorium. From Mogador, obtaining an escort of soldiers, they made their way inland over an undulating country, rich, but neglected, and suffering from an insufficient supply of water, to the city of Morocco, which stands a little way from the northern base of the Great Atlas. Thence, after a short stay, they approached the mountain mass itself, ascended several of the passes, and in two excursions reached points on the lofty watershed, from one of which they obtained a view southwards towards the apparently parallel chain of Anti-Atlas on the south, beyond which begins the barren expanse of the Sahara. Moving westwards along the Atlas, they were obliged by the disturbed state of the country to abandon their original purpose of exploring its western spurs, which descend towards the ocean between the ports of Mogador and Agadir, and turned north-westwards over the lower grounds to Mogador, whence they returned by sea to Gibraltar. The journey occupied about two months, and although they did not succeed in embracing so wide an area as had been intended, the scientific results attained, especially in increasing our knowledge of the flora of the country, were very considerable. It was especially provoking to be prevented from crossing the Great Atlas into the almost wholly unknown region which lies between it and the Sahara, a country which only one European traveller, Gerard Rohlfs, seems to have reached, and of which even he was able to give but a meagre description. The difficulties in an explorer's way are, however, very great. The tribes beyond the Atlas are intensely fanatical, and murder every Christian who comes among them. They pay no respect to the Sultan of Morocco, and are in fact usually at war with his subjects. Even in the territories which nominally obey him, the travellers found progress difficult, although they were fortified by letters from him and the chief provincial authorities, and accompanied by an escort of soldiers. The Moors of the low country regard strangers with the utmost suspicion, and may be roused to ferocity by the slightest offence to their religious prejudices. Up in the mountains the aboriginal population are less fanatical; but the exactations of the soldiers who form the escort render travellers exceedingly unwelcome, and everybody's object is to get rid of the intruders as soon as possible, and show them as little of the country as may be. Geological inquiries are out of the question, for these would be supposed to be directed towards the hidden treasures of which the Atlas is supposed to be full. On both the occasions when the party reached the crest of the chain, they were obliged to give their escort the slip, and escape like prisoners from them, running of course the risk, which a worthy mountaineer or naturalist is always prepared to encounter, of failing in with hostile marauders. It was by no means easy to make the scope of such inquiries understood at all; and the form into which the native mind changed the motive for their journey stated by the travellers—namely, a commission to discover and carry back to the Royal Gardens plants and herbs, and especially those useful in medicine—is thus given:—

The current belief among our followers was that the Sultan of England had heard that there was somewhere in Morocco a plant that would make her live for ever, and that she had sent her own *hakim* to find it for her. When, in the course of our journey, it was seen that our botanical pursuits entailed rather severe labour, the commentary was:—"The Sultan of England is a severe woman, and she has threatened to give them stick (the bastinado) if they do not find the herb she wants."

The Great Atlas, so called to distinguish it from that lower and outer chain which one sees from the summit of Gibraltar Rock, is described by our travellers as a steep and imposing mass of great persistent altitude. The conspicuous peaks are few, but the passes are all high, being little below the summits, the highest of which seem to reach about thirteen thousand feet. The forests which at one time clothed great tracts have now mostly disappeared, at least on the northern side, and little but oak scrub is to be found upon the slopes. The different accounts regarding the snow given by different observers are ingeniously reconciled by the authors. Considering its latitude, its height, and the far from copious rainfall, the Atlas ought not to have any perpetual snow. It lies considerably further south than the Caucasus, for instance, where the average snow line is thirteen thousand feet, and is in the immediate proximity of regions much hotter than South Russia and Georgia. And, strictly speaking, it has not perpetual snow—that is to say, there are no permanent fields of *névé* in places exposed to the sun, and, by consequence, there are of course no glaciers. But the climate is kept so relatively cool by the proximity of the Atlantic that heavy rains fall on the tops, even in summer, in the form of snow, so that the highest zone is seldom free from snow for many weeks together, and large snow-beds are always to be found in sheltered places, even as low as nine or ten thousand feet above the sea. Of the scenery we hear less than the poetic fame of Atlas might have led one to expect. It is beautiful in many places, and occasionally grand, but is not dwelt on as striking, perhaps because a comparatively small part of the main chain was visited. The climate, on the other hand, is the theme of constant praise. The heat is far less excessive than one might expect to find in so low a latitude; the nights are usually cool, even in May, and the air exquisitely pure and dry. Probably no part of the Old World would be so well adapted for consumptive patients as Morocco if it were easier to reach, and if tolerable accommodation could be had in its miserable towns.

The picture which our authors give of the social and political

state of the country is dismal, but not more dismal than the facts require. Morocco is a country of great natural resources. Its soil is usually fertile, and often extremely so. Though the rainfall is sometimes scanty, it has in the snows of Atlas a perpetual reservoir, which, if properly used by way of irrigation works along the streams, would give a sufficient supply of water for agricultural purposes. There are few noxious animals; no lions now, few leopards, few snakes. The climate is delightful, and the country abounds with trees and shrubs of great commercial value. Under the Romans, who held at least the more level parts of it, probably as far as Mogador, it was a peaceful and prosperous province; the incursions of those Berber tribes who still remained independent being kept in check by lines of fortresses which the natives still vaguely attribute to "the Christians." Three centuries after the dissolution of the Western Empire came the Mohammedan conquest; and from that time till now the country seems to have been steadily declining. The earlier Arab Sultans had indeed some pretensions, like their brethren in Spain, to cultivation and enlightenment. Fez was, for a time, one of the most famous schools of Islam. But whatever good there was once in Mohammedanism seems to have died out. Here in Morocco, where, as in Turkestan, it has been cut off from Western influences, and had no other form of religion to contend with, it has done its pernicious work most completely:—

The history of the last four centuries in Morocco has been one of continuous and uninterrupted decline. Unable to establish their authority over the larger portion of the region which they claim to govern, the Sultans have left to anarchy the mountain region into which the best part of the population was compelled to retire when driven from the fertile lower country. Over the provinces wherein they are able to enforce it the rule of the Moorish Sultans is little else than an organized system of extortion, in which unchecked license is given to the agents of the central authority, on the sole condition of making this the final depository of whatever wealth the country can produce. The springs of industry and enterprise are broken; no man can dream of improving his own condition or that of his family, unless by elaborate fraud and concealment he can hoard up wealth which he dares not employ in any way useful to the community.

In fact, the Government of Morocco is much like that of Turkey, only perhaps rather worse. Like the Osmanlis in Europe, the Arabs in Morocco, whether from natural decay or by admixture with the native Berbers and with negroes brought across from the Soudan and Senegal, have become hopelessly effete and incapable. The authors seem to assume a larger Arab element in the present Moroccan population than we are inclined to admit. Probably the number of native Arabs in the armies that conquered North-West Africa was but small; and though they imposed their language and religion upon the natives, the present aspect of the people, as well as the analogy of similar conquests, would rather show the proportion of Berber and negro to Arab blood in the modern Moors to be very great indeed. The aboriginal tribes of the Atlas, the Shelluhs, who are alien to the Kabyles of Algeria and the Touariks of the Desert, are not only much less furious Mohammedans, but greatly superior to the Moors in industry and the domestic virtues. Intense war is common among their tribes; but even that is better than the horrible oppression to which the nominal subjects of the Sultan are exposed at the hands of his Governors. Mr. Ball gives a vivid account of the doings of one of these miscreants:—

The Governor of Haha, the largest and most important province in the Empire, which long maintained its independence of the Sultan, had hereditary claims to the government of the twelve Shellah tribes who make up the population. Although miserably fallen away from its ancient prosperity—in the time of Leo Africanus (in the sixteenth century) there were six or seven populous towns where there is now nothing better than a village—the province still furnishes much agricultural produce and live stock, and sends hides, grain, oil, and other merchandise for exportation to the port of Mogador. The Governor, at the time of our visit, had long held his office; by liberal contributions to the Imperial treasury he had kept himself in the favour of the Sultan while amassing vast wealth. Powerful and feared, he might have maintained his authority unbroken, but that, by a continuous course of oppression and cruelty, he at length stirred up the spirit of resistance among his own people. Vengeance, however atrocious, for acts of revolt is so fully the admitted right of men in authority in Morocco that it did not seem to count for much in the indictment against him that on one occasion he inflicted on several hundred—some said a thousand—prisoners the terrible punishment of the "*leather-glove*." A lump of quicklime is placed in the victim's open palm, the hand is closed over it, and bound fast with a piece of raw hide. The other hand is fastened with a chain behind the back, while the bound fist is plunged in water. When, on the ninth day, the wretched man has the remaining hand set free, it is to find himself a mutilated object for life, unless mortification has set in, and death relieves him from further suffering. But, in addition to such acts as these, the Kaid of Haha was accused of capricious deeds of ferocity that revolted the consciences of his people. Among other stories of the kind, we were told that on some occasion, when he was having a wall made round his garden, he happened to see a youth jump over the low unfinished fence. Feeling in some way annoyed at this, he had the unfortunate boy's right foot struck off as a lesson not to repeat the experiment.

This worthy was at last obliged to fly before an insurrection. But on reaching the capital he placed himself under the protection of the Viceroy, and, offering half his accumulated treasure to the Sultan, was received with favour, and had a handsome house allotted him as a residence:—

When the flight of the Governor was noised abroad in Haha, the people proceeded according to custom to pillage and destroy the castle of their oppressor. Among other things brought to light were two skeletons built into the wall of one of the inner chambers. The Kaid had two nephews who were, or might have become, dangerous rivals, and it was in this way that he disposed of them. Among the stores found in the *kasbah* (citadel) were several large earthen jars of butter, and others of honey, and these furnished forth a feast for the unbidden guests. The Kaid was a thoughtful man, and even in the hurry of his departure he had not forgotten his disobedient subjects. The feast was not well over when the effects began to

be apparent, and a large number of those who partook of it died in agony. The Kaid had mixed a large quantity of arsenic with the delicacies which he had been forced to leave behind him.

Seeing no prospect of any improvement in the condition of the country while it remains under its present Government, our authors conceive that the only chance for it is occupation by some European Power able, not so much to colonize, as to establish peace and security, and cause the great natural resources of the country to be turned to proper account. Spain, the State most naturally called to such a mission, being out of the question, and Portugal having lost her old energy, they suggest that France should be encouraged to advance westward from Algeria to the Atlantic, civilizing and reducing to order a country which might probably prove more profitable than Algeria has done, while it would offer far less resistance. They admit that France might indeed derive no great material gain from the enterprise, but point out very truly that this may be said of nearly all the conquests of civilized races, which nevertheless are necessary moments in the progress of culture and the subjugation of the world to man.

We have scarcely touched on the scientific chapters of the book, though they form one of the most valuable and important parts of it, because we assume that geographers and botanists will of course study them. Among these chapters there appear very interesting and suggestive accounts of the flora of Morocco and its relations to the floras of the Mediterranean, of tropical Africa, and of the Canary Isles; sketch of the geology of the Great Atlas, by Mr. Maw; observations on altitudes; various geographical memoranda; a paper on the language of the Shelluhis; and quaint little collection of Moorish stories and fables. Of these, as well as of the maps and illustrations, we have not left ourselves space to speak; nor is it, indeed, necessary to tell the scientific student what he may look for in the work of two such authors. But the reader who is neither geographer nor botanist may be glad to know that it is long since any more interesting or instructive book of travels has issued from our press.

BRUGSCH'S HISTORY OF EGYPT.*

THE pleasure with which we hail the publication in an English dress of Brugsch-Bey's important *History of Egypt* is grievously marred by the defects of the translation in which it has been permitted to come forth. Some apology for this imperfection seems to be attempted in the preface on the ground of the death of the first translator, by which time the whole of the first volume had been printed and the translation carried on half way through the second. This does not, however, alter the fact that we get little more than a thin clothing of English words over the skeleton of German thought, the original idiom making itself painfully felt throughout, not even the idea intended to be embodied being in many cases palpable to the reader's mind. What meaning is the English student likely to extract from this picture of the tomb of Beni Hassan?—"It is the same tomb which exhibits the new appearance of the pillar changed into the column for the first time, and by the construction of the front, so plain to the eye, enhances the peculiar richness of its instructive pictures (now, alas! always becoming more and more injured), and rivets the attention of the spectator." Not less perplexing is the panegyric passed upon Mentu-hotep, the distinguished servant of Usurtagen II., at once legislator, architect, and governor of the towns of Ant and the lands of Tesher. "Being the first in the country, the King's heart was full of him, and the great and distinguished of the Court gave him their love. . . . Thus does the mouth of Mentu-hotep, which has been long silent, describe himself in his own praise." It is irritating to have so often to mend for one's own satisfaction of mind the constantly recurring bits of broken or ungainly English, and to bring them to something like grammatical cohesion or meaning. Not that the confusion of sense is in all cases to be laid to the charge of the translator. There are signs of the original work having been pieced together by the author without due care to revise and reconcile the rough notes or memoranda accumulated from time to time in the course of his studies and researches. Thus, apologizing for not giving the full list of presents and buildings dedicated to the gods by Rameses III. as memorials of a victory enumerated in the Harris papyrus, he says, "We would have laid before our readers the catalogue contained in it, if only in a general summary, if this comprehensive document, which has never yet been published, had been brought to our knowledge in its full extent." Yet in the very next page facing these words of complaint we read:—"The great Harris papyrus, which has been made known in the meantime, enables us to supply the gaps which were perceptible in that list" (vol. ii. pp. 154-5). Instances of slovenly work like this must needs detract much from the literary value of the choicest treasures of industry and learning.

Disclaiming as he does at once the vocation and the ability of a "professed historian," the writer cannot perhaps be fairly taxed with the faults of construction or the want of broad philosophical principles which forbid our treating his book as a history in the full or systematic sense of the word. It might more strictly

be termed *Annals of the Egyptian Kings*. It is in the testimony of the monuments that, according to his own view, lies the centre of gravity of his work. And it is in the amassing and interpreting these primary records, wrung from the newly opened world of stone or papyrus, that his unexampled powers have found their appropriate scope. Nor moreover has any man ever had ample opportunities. His official connexion with the Khedive has given Brugsch-Bey the fullest command of all the monuments *in situ* through the length and breadth of Egypt and Nubia, in addition to the noble collections at Boulaq, chiefly the result of his own untiring care, supplemented by visits to all the chief museums of Europe. Twenty years ago the attempt was first made by him to lay before the friends and admirers of Egyptian antiquity a history of Egypt under the Pharaohs compiled simply from the monuments, disregarding the schemes of history and chronology which have come down to us from Greek and Roman writers, on which have been pieced together out of fragmentary or legendary notices like those of Manetho. Amplified by his ceaseless labours during the intervening years, and enriched by the work of scholars of whose names he gratefully gives a long list—including those of Birch, Goodwin, and Le Page Renouf amongst ourselves—the work now forms a repertory of the most authentic records of the Pharaonic times. In these documents we have an unbroken series of witnesses, extending from all but mythical antiquity to a point where the grandeur of Egypt is no more, where her monumental records cease, and the history of the oldest empire upon earth merges in the newer and more general stream of the world's life. Before this final point, the hieroglyphic writings have been brought into correlation with the splendid series of inscriptions yielded by the mounds of Babylonia and Assyria. The more prominent and pertinent of these texts have been incorporated by Brugsch-Bey into the closing portion of his history. No part of his work is more original or striking than that which makes good the witness of a long series of Egyptian monuments, from about the year 1000 B.C. onwards, to equivalents of the names of Assyrian kings in the hieroglyphic form of writing, and to the presence and rule of Assyrian satraps in the Nile Valley. Names familiar to us as household words in Bible story—Shishak (Shashank), Nimrod, Tiglath, Sargon—come before us as those of real Assyrian personages in the closest connexion with the history of Egypt. The Assyrian conquest of Egypt, following up and driving out the line of priesthood by which for three centuries the proud family of Ramses had been superseded, is now for the first time made clear from a series of contemporary inscriptions. The historical gap vaguely hinted at in the Dodecarchy of Herodotus, during which Lower Egypt was tossed to and fro between Assyria and Ethiopia through the hands of petty kings and satraps (now known to us by name) until its union under Psammetichus, is filled up by the cuneiform records of Sennacherib's grandson, read in unison with the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Ethiopian conquerors at Mount Barkal.

As to the origin of the old Egyptian race, the monuments, it need scarcely be said, have no information to give. We have for this to turn to the auxiliary sciences of comparative philology, and the natural history of the human race. On both grounds there can be no hesitation in rejecting, as our author does, the Greek tradition adopted by some modern historians, which sought for the cradle of the Egyptian race in Ethiopia. Not only in the form of the skull and other points of bodily conformation do the Egyptians appear totally distinct from all African tribes, and closely approximate to Caucasian types, but the evidence of language points to a no less intimate connexion with the Indo-Germanic and Semitic families of speech. The old Egyptian grammar preserved upon the monuments of the earliest date, as well as in the later Christian manuscripts of the Copts, the successors of the people of the Pharaohs, shows this similarity both in the primitive roots and in all the essential elements of construction. The stream of art and civilization, far from flowing down the Nile from some primitive southern source, is shown by the lower character of the monuments of *A*Ethiopia and Nubia, clumsy imitations of the true Egyptian examples, to have made its way upwards from the point marked by the great pyramids of Ghizeh. The old Egyptians always regarded themselves as the aboriginal inhabitants of the "black land," *kem* or *khemi*, the neighbouring region of the Arabian desert bearing the name of Tesher, the "red land." The Hebrews gave to the land the name of Mizraim (the two Misr, the modern Arabic name), the Assyrians Muzur, the Persians Mudraya, the common root of which puzzling word is sought by Brugsch in the Egyptian *Zer*, a fortress, whence Mazor, "fortified." To this their early home, a branch of the wide Cushite family, distinguished by specific characters from the Pelaean and the Semitic stocks, found their way from somewhere in the interior of the Asiatic quarter of the world, crossing that bridge of nations, the Isthmus of Suez, to find a new fatherland on the banks of the holy Nile. To their west lay the groups of tribes which bore the general name of Ribu or Libu, the ancestors of the Lybians familiar to ancient history. They appear upon the monuments as a light-coloured race with blue eyes and blond or red hair. By General Faidherbe they have been thought to represent the earliest (perhaps Celtic) race of immigrants from the North of Europe to Africa by way of the three Mediterranean peninsulas. As early as the fourth dynasty wanderers of this race—men, women, and children—are depicted displaying, like very Moors or Gipsies, their dexterity as dancers, gymnasts, or combatants in the public games. Above the first cataract, close to Syene, lay the tribes known by the common name of

* *A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs, derived entirely from the Monuments.* By Henry Brugsch-Bey. Translated from the German by the late Henry Danby Seymour, F.R.G.S. Completed and Edited by Philip Smith, B.A. To which is added a Memoir on the Exodus of the Israelites and the Egyptian Monuments. 2 vols., with Coloured Plates and Maps. London: John Murray. 1879.

Nahasu, in features and complexion the ancestors of the negro races of to-day, the southernmost branch being known as the Kar or Kal, the modern Gallas. To the east of the Isthmus of Suez we meet with the great nation called by the Egyptians, in a contemptuous sense, Amu—the “infidels,” Kafirs, or pagans of these times—a name having the general significance of “people” in the Semitic languages, connected with Ame (or Amen), “a herdsman,” in the Egyptian. Chief among these tribes, settled very early in the Delta, about the present Lake Menzaleh, were the Kheta, the Khar or Khal, and the Ruten or Luten. Bordering upon the upper Ruten country was the great land of Naharain or Naharain, the Aram Naharain (Aram of the two rivers) of Scripture—*i.e.* Syria Aramaea, including in its greatest width Mesopotamia, the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as the fertile tract round Damascus still called by the Arabs Naharain. On tablets of the fourteenth dynasty it includes the countries of Assur and Babel.

The division of Upper and Lower Egypt, drawn at the ivory island Elephantine, opposite Syene, dates from the earliest times, being founded upon differences of speech as well as of habits and customs. In a MS. of the thirteenth century B.C. the learned author comments upon the inferior language of Northern Egypt. Each had its tutelar deity—Set ruling in the north; Hor, the son of Osiris, in the south. The northern King bore in the remotest times a red crown; the southern, one of white; the two being blended in the symbol of joint sovereignty—the double crown or Psent—first adopted, so tradition went, by Mena, the first of the long line of monarchs who follow upon the mythical rule of the demigods, and of whom a succession of sixty-five names was newly discovered eleven years ago upon a tablet in a corridor of the temple of Seti I. at Harabat-el-Madiounah, coming down to the last reign of the twelfth dynasty, supplementing the well-known tables of Saqqarah and Abydos, and correcting in many particulars the lists of Manetho. It is with the accession of Mena or Menes that the narrative of Brugsch-Bey properly begins, closing with the reign of Alexander the Great, the liberator of Egypt from the yoke of the Persians.

(To be continued.)

ALLEN ON THE COLOUR-SENSE.*

THE evolution of Mr. Grant Allen's purpose is continuous from first to last; but it may be fairly regarded under two aspects. The most important one is that to which the earlier and larger portion of the volume is devoted—that is to say, the explanation of the manner in which colours themselves, no less than the colour-sense, have been gradually introduced in organic nature; while the latter and shorter section of it is directed to the demolition of certain views lately put forward, and which were chiefly founded upon observations of the colour epithets employed by Homer. The work is called in its title-page “An Essay in Comparative Psychology”; and in effect it constitutes a very remarkable addition to the theory of natural selection, approached in a novel direction, and applied to demonstrate the sequence of man in the great procession of nature, with reference to what may be justly described as the highest and most intellectual of all the sensuous faculties.

The book begins with clear information, for those who require to begin at the beginning, on the physical facts of light and colour. From the existence of appropriate special structures in the lowest forms of animal life, no less than from actual experiments on their sensibility to light, it is inferred that they are, however imperfect, distinct organs of vision—at first perhaps capable of nothing but appreciating the difference between light and darkness; next of distinguishing form, and finally of recognizing colours. This order of evolution is not free from question; and there is no sufficient reason given against the existence of some kind of colour-sense in even the earliest eyes. There may have been primitive organs of vision incapable of forming an image, perhaps only capable of seeing one colour, and from this monochromatic condition the power of seeing other colours may have been evolved. Indeed the argument for the later introduction of the colour-sense is largely based upon the assumption that such a sense would have been useless, because there were no colours to be seen—or, at least, none which it would have been of any advantage to the early animal world to have the power of distinguishing. The existence of the most brilliant colours in nature, apart from life, is of course not to be forgotten. The gorgeous hues of sunrise and sunset, the rainbow, all the glorious tints of sea and sky, were in the world before there was an eye to see them. And although the predominant colours of the rocks and earths of geology are dull, the mineral kingdom affords some of the most brilliant specimens of colour, and in fact now contributes not only their materials, but their names, to the best known and most effective pigments used in the arts. But even the human eye, until trained by long ages of observation and education, was insensible to the beauties of external nature; and no one has ever supposed that in any lower form of animal life there is a sense of beauty apart from the exigencies and pleasures of its own narrow circle of usefulness or enjoyment.

It is in following out the relations between vegetable and animal

life, and the reciprocal functions of insects, birds, and flowers, that the most important novelty and excellence of Mr. Grant Allen's work consists. He has collected the observations of Darwin, Lubbock, Wallace, and Bates, and has constructed a theory based upon a cumulative argument which is certain to excite attention, if not to command assent. In insects the colour-sense was first called into existence by the hues of flowers. The innocent and unconscious Galahads of the loves of the plants, they roved about selecting the brightest blossoms, and in turn their colours reacted simultaneously upon the senses of the insects to whose selection they owed their own perpetuation. The same thing happens, although to a less extent, among the fruit-eating vertebrates. To quote Mr. Grant Allen's own words:—

The constant employment of the colour-perceiving structures in the search for food, amongst the flower-hunting and fruit-eating animals, would ultimately lead to the strengthening of those structures, and, consequently, to the development of a concomitant pleasure. This pleasure shows itself in the form of a taste for colour. Such a taste is found in a large majority of the species so circumstanced. It becomes manifest partly in the selection of bright foods, partly in a general love for brilliant objects, but most of all in the choice of gaily-coloured partners. To this cause we owe the beauty of butterflies, birds, and many other animals.

Other colours in animal life are due to the constant operation of the law of natural selection. Those individuals survive whose colours, or powers of mimicry, protect them most completely from their natural enemies and destroyers. Fruit-eating monkeys display, among mammalia, the highest natural colours. Man has inherited the colour-sense through a long line of remote ancestry, and it is highly improbable that any advance or development can have taken place in it within historic, or even in what are called prehistoric, times.

In tracing the gradual development of colour in plants, much stress is laid upon the want of colour during the early periods of vegetation, while it is admitted that some varieties of mosses and fungi do exhibit very brilliant tints. Even when the cryptogams were first succeeded by flowering plants, there was no increase in the colours of vegetable life, and there was no occasion for it. The anemophilous or wind-fertilized plants required no display of bright colours to attract insects, and it was not until the appearance of a higher class of vegetable life that colours could subserve any useful purpose in the economy of their lives. The wind, “that kisses all it meets,” distributed their pollen without preference or partiality; and no advantage was to be gained by any special allurement of gaudy colouring. Hence the deduction that “the coloured whorls of flowers in the entomophilous or insect-fertilized plants represent an intensification of the natural tint in growing shoots and floral organs, slowly modified by the selective action of the insect eye.” The brightest flowers attract the most insects, the process of fertilizing is most extensively and completely performed for them, and the continuance of the species to which they belong is most thoroughly secured. The insects in their turn contract a love for bright colours, and the best matches in their world of fashion are made by those individuals upon whom the most brilliant colours have been settled by their parents; and so the law of the survival of the fittest operates to heighten the colouring of insects, except among the genera where a dark and inconspicuous colour would best serve the end of protection from natural enemies. Even if the general facts tending to show that insects must possess a specially developed colour-sense are held not sufficient, the ingenious and careful experiments devised and executed by Sir John Lubbock to test its existence are sufficient to prove that the movements and actions of insects are guided by a sense of the colours belonging to the objects with which they come in contact as much as we are ourselves.

Passing onwards to the higher forms of animal life, it is somewhat less easy to pursue the argument, as the colours of the vertebrates and their surroundings are, as a rule, less vivacious than those of plants and insects. Yet the importance is pointed out of the colours of fruits in promoting the colour-sense, and especially in determining the aesthetic tastes of birds, quadrupeds, and men. Fruits proper, even in extra-tropical regions, almost rival flowers in their fine colouring, and are the only class of organic objects which can in this respect be compared with them; and some classes of mammals, although not many, subsist chiefly on fruits. Some very curious considerations arise upon the power possessed by certain animals of altering their own colour at will. The chameleon shrimp can do this, for purposes of self-protection, in correspondence with the bottom or seaweeds on or among which it may happen to be lying or lurking. And this power of course suggests a colour-sense as existing in the enemies of this shrimp, to avoid or to deceive whom it is exercised. Frogs confined in a shallow dish, partly covered with green and partly with blue glass, are found by choice to congregate under the blue. Birds take a share with insects in fertilizing some flowers, and in the class of parrot-like birds and humming-birds vie with them in brilliancy of colouring, developed, as must be supposed, in a similar way.

At this stage of the argument, the various steps of which can only be indicated in a very imperfect and fragmentary manner, Mr. Grant Allen considers himself to have proved that wherever any part of a plant—flower or fruit—will derive any benefit from attracting the eye of an animal—insect, bird, or mammal—it will have some brilliant colour; and this is taken as the great pivot upon which the whole knowledge of the animal colour-sense must turn. Finally, Mr. Grant Allen contends for a similarity of nervous

* *The Colour-Sense; its Origin and Development: an Essay in Comparative Psychology.* By Grant Allen, B.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

impressibility extending through the whole animal series, from the lowest up to man. The senses of taste and hearing may fairly be presumed to be of the same kind, and that of sight cannot be materially different. The child and the artist delight in the same flowers and fruits which attract the insect or the bird.

The same fairness and candid confession of inability to make his theory complete in all points which distinguishes Mr. Darwin may be found in his disciple. Mr. Allen admits that he is not supported always by the opinions of the living authorities from whom he derives, for the most part, his facts and conclusions. The book overflows with argument and illustration, and some of its iteration can only be justified by the strong desire to lose no point in a chain of argument which is in its nature cumulative, and where every step has to be firmly secured before proceeding to take the next. The style is sometimes rather exuberant, but is often agreeably quaint and humorous; and an amusing effect is produced by the use of language appropriate for describing the exercise of absolute volition, when detailing processes of natural selection. In writing of the familiar apples, plums, peaches, cherries, &c. (p. 104), he says, "Every one of these plants is provided with hard and indigestible seeds, coated or surrounded by a soft, sweet, pulpy, perfumed, bright-coloured, and nutritious covering known as fruit. By all those means the plant allures birds or mammals to swallow and disperse its undigested seed, giving in, as it were, the pulpy covering as a reward for the services thus conferred." In another place he describes how a plant succeeds "in enticing the friendly parrot or the obsequious lemur to disperse its seed." But the book is attractive throughout, for its object is pursued with an earnestness and singleness of purpose which never fail to maintain the interest of the reader.

The part of the work devoted to the discussion of the colour-sense in man starts from the assertion (which few or none, we think, will be inclined to dispute) that he shares it in common with all the higher animals. He then deals with the Magnus-Gladstone belief, that so recently in the history of the human race as three thousand years ago, its most cultivated nations, which had the highest poetical development, were still incapable of distinguishing the most strikingly different colours. Homer is supposed to have been ignorant of green and blue; and a method is conceived by which the knowledge of colour, as now recognized, is supposed to have grown up since the Vedas and the Iliad were written. Mr. Grant Allen has caused extensive inquiries to be made among existing savage races, presumably far inferior in civilization to the dwellers around the Mediterranean in Homer's age, with a view to ascertaining their powers of colour-perception. The result shows that in every case the colour-sense is, as a whole, identical throughout all branches of the human race. The habits, dresses, and personal decorations of various races are used as proofs to confirm this; and when the remains of ancient Egyptian and Assyrian art are cited in evidence, as demonstrating the extensive and studied use made in it of colour, it seems impossible to suppose that any difference can have existed between it and the art of modern Europe in this respect; and the most remarkable specimens of Egyptian colour are much older than the earliest date ever assigned to the poems of Homer. There is also statistical evidence for believing that colour-blindness is far more common among civilized than among savage peoples.

The physical and historical part of the question being thus disposed of, it remains to deal with the subject on philological grounds, and the "growth of the colour vocabulary" forms the title of the concluding chapter. It is shown that the names of colours are all abstract words, but necessarily taking their rise from the concrete. Almost every colour-word is the name of a natural object of the colour it expresses, or of a thing or place from which the colour, when used as a pigment, is manufactured or comes. *Rose* and *violet* are names of flowers; *ruby* and *sapphire* of gems; *carmine*, *crimson*, and *vermilion* are etymologically the same, and refer to the *kerneis*, or little cochineal worm; *Venetian red* and *French blue* tell their own story. As the occasion arises and the arts flourish, tints are multiplied, and the colour-vocabulary is enlarged; but it is only where there is a multiplicity of colours requiring names that the names can be expected. There are some very interesting remarks on the use of particular colour-names in poetry. *Red* is, in general, the colour of most frequent occurrence. Mr. Grant Allen has ascertained that in Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* red epithets occur 159 times. Adding yellow, gold, tawny, and purple, epithets belonging to the red end of the spectrum occur 325 times. The other, or violet end (including green), gives only 110 colour-words. And, after all, he remarks on the paucity of colour-terms employed by Mr. Swinburne. Mr. Allen has called attention to the use of colour-words by other poets, but does not inform us whether he has examined Shakespeare or Dante. If he had done so, he would have found that Dante has but 16 names of colours, using *Rosso* only 11 times; *Azzuro*, 1; *Biondo*, 3; *Cocco* (cochineal), 1; *Ferrigno* (rust-colour), 1; *Giallo*, 6; *Indico*, 1; *Perso* (peach-colour), 3; *Rancio* (orange), 2; *Rubecchio*, 1; *Rosato*, 1; *Rubro* (for the Red Sea), 1; *Vermiglio*, 1; *Smeraldo*, 1; *Zaffiro*, 1; *Verde* occurs 14 times, out of which only one instance is in the *Paradiso*. Altogether his abstinence from colour epithets is extraordinary, and in the *Paradiso* a colour effect is only once employed in the grand passage where the heavens are suffused with that wonderful blush of shame. Shakespeare has 32 colour epithets in all, using *red* 53 times, *blue* 26 times, and on two occasions calling the rainbow *blue*.

We can only direct special attention to the chapter on the "Æsthetic Value of Colours," and conclude by commending the book generally to all who desire to become acquainted with the latest and best contribution to a most fertile subject of inquiry.

RESOURCES AND PROSPECTS OF VICTORIA.*

THE first half of Sir Archibald Michie's volume is made up of lectures delivered at Melbourne or in its vicinity. The effect of the second portion would have been greater had this part been either recast or omitted. Some strength of will is required in English readers to imagine themselves frequenters of an Australian watering-place, and to pass through the ordeal of being addressed in a duodecimo as "Ladies and gentlemen." The present Agent-General and former Attorney-General of Victoria seems, however, to have thought that he wanted the excuse of an invitation twenty years old from the Committee of the St. Kilda Mechanics' Institute to justify his appearance before an English public. We confess we should have preferred him in his newer character. We could have borne philosophically the loss of the little local jests which have rather a stale flavour in a volume meant for home circulation, and of the little sneer at home statesmanship which did their duty very handsomely at the antipodes, but need not have been stereotyped in London. Reading discourses in 1879 framed with a view to an Australian lecture-room in 1859 is like opening a letter inclosed in a wrong envelope, or listening to a person who speaks over his companion's head at the opposite wall.

The form of the volume is the more to be regretted because the author, who was, we believe, for many years the Melbourne Correspondent of the *Times*, has plenty to tell the British Empire as well as St. Kilda. His acquaintance with Victoria comprises the period when it was still struggling into pastoral existence, the fever of the gold discoveries, and the interval which followed, when, under the semblance of partial reaction, the colony was really digesting its gains. Victoria began as a dependency of New South Wales. Its first two officials on their appointment called at the Colonial Office to inquire the locality of their duties. No one could tell them. "At length the principal geographical authority came forward, and sweeping his right hand over a portion of a map representing some two thousand three or four hundred miles in extent, he said, 'Well, it is somewhere about there; but you'll soon find it when you get out.'" Sheep-farming was the original staple of Victorian industry. To this business, whether pursued in New South Wales or Victoria, Sir Archibald attributes the overthrow of the "old pre-existing type of English so-called respectability." To work with the hands was held, he says, to be degrading until gentlemen emigrated. "The revolution set in when gentlemen began to dress sheep for the scab." It seemed at one time as if the revolution was not likely to advance far. The price of wool fell, and a large proportion of Victorians passed through the Insolvent Court. Then came in 1851 the discovery of gold, and the population of the colony shot up from 77,345 in that year to about a million at the present date. Sir Archibald Michie recounts an astonishing tale of rapid material progress. In the last twenty-six years £1,600,000 has been spent on public works. Fourteen millions of this is borrowed money; but there is security in the railroads and water-works which have been constructed with it. Four-fifths of the interest of the debt are payable in London. The colony, in fact, according to its Agent-General, occupies the relation to the mother-country of "a large outlying farm, sending its rent in gold and other produce to the owner or mortgagee on the other side of the world." That is a comfortable way of putting it, and, on the whole, a true way. But it cannot be concealed that some Victorians are not perfectly content at this payment of rent to absentee landlords. Sir Archibald Michie once heard "a successful candidate for Parliamentary honours demand from a Melbourne platform, amidst the cheers of his admirers, that laws should be passed to prevent the gold from being sent out of the country."

The sudden influx of riches saved the country from bankruptcy, but threw political power into the hands of a class whose knowledge of political economy is illustrated by this ingenious proposal. Successful diggers had simply no understanding of the meaning of money. Sir Archibald Michie remembers how a digger would, in spite of protests from the barrister, "insist on his attorney giving his counsel a hundred guineas as a fee on any motion—and motions were not uncommon with him—which could be disposed of in an hour or two." There were two sides to this picture of El Dorado. Mining morality accounted it a disgrace to steal a nugget from a hut. A man was safe in keeping on his mantel-shelf "lollipop bottles full of nuggets to the value of hundreds of pounds." But his neighbours would think little of smoking him to death like a wasp in his digging on which they desired to encroach. They thought nothing at all, as Sir Archibald Michie learned by experience, of robbing Melbourne shareholders in a joint-stock mine wholesale. Worse still, the spasm of prosperity generated its usual parasites. There was a sudden upheaval of criminal population. "Skull-barkers" live at free quarters on the squatters. Melbourne, writes Sir Archibald Michie, "was at that time a sort of fevered, drunken,

* *Readings in Melbourne: with an Essay on the Resources and Prospects of Victoria.* By Sir Archibald Michie. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1879.

delirious Pandemonium." "When you dined out in those days, your host, on your leaving, kindly placed a Colt's revolver in your hand, and suggested that you should keep the middle of the street, and that it might not be on the whole impolitic to shoot the first gentleman you met who said, 'Mate, can you tell us what's o'clock?'" Overcrowding had its discomforts, which were worse than the chance of being garrotted. An acting Chief Justice arriving suddenly in the city might think himself fortunate to be given "a comfortable shakedown on the top of taproom table between two lucky diggers." Rents rose between 1852 and 1853 "from 150*l.* a year to 900*l.* for tenements such as any Londoner can enjoy for 50*l.* or 60*l.* a year." Vegetables, with cabbages at five shillings apiece, were an article of food in which "neither poor nor rich could indulge habitually, save in their dreams." By about 1856, however, *Pactolus* had comparatively run itself dry. "Rich finds at the gold-fields became rare events." The fall was as rapid as had been the rise, in rents and prices, in everything except wages, "for a sort of imperial ukase had said that wages should not fall."

But the tide of prosperity, though it subsided, left Melbourne "a great city, as comfortable, as elegant, as luxurious as any place out of London or Paris." It was of still more importance that the general stir of life throughout the colony during the previous five years spread agriculture everywhere. Men who had come to dig for gold remained to dig for better things. Victoria does not grow corn enough for its own consumption. But it has certain special agricultural capabilities, and the new population had "earth-hunger." The gold discoveries shifted the balance to the side of the farmer in the chronic feud between the 1,100 squatters of Victoria and the "selectors." The squatters, as being already in possession, had naturally always looked with jealousy on men who came down upon their runs and eat out a farm here and a farm there. But so long as the Victorian population continued very small, they were comparatively secure. That is no longer so, and their land monopoly is doomed. Sir Archibald Michie rejoices at this, but at the same time he is grateful to the men who created the colony. Squatters made its settlement possible. Their profits at first were not great. Some now have vast incomes, ranging from 20,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*; but against such prizes must be set off infinitely more blanks. On grounds of justice to the colony, as well as to the squatter, Sir Archibald Michie commends him to tender treatment by Victorian legislators. He deprecates the adoption of "the extremely short and neat prescription of driving the squatters across the Murray." This might be equivalent to "driving our dinners across the Murray." Some Victorian land is fit only for pastoral purposes; but its adaptability to those purposes will not be made the most of unless the State secure the squatter in his tenure, not absolutely, but virtually, by ensuring him the return of his expenditure upon the land. The State, when prepared to do justice, might obtain justice for itself. It might then insist upon a rent better proportioned to pastoral profits than it would be equitable to exact from men liable to be ejected without compensation for wells sunk, artificial grasses sown, paddocks fenced in, homesteads established.

Sir Archibald Michie is desirous at once that the colonies should be attached more closely even than they are now to England, and that the colonists should be content to think of Australia as their permanent home. A great colony must practically be self-governing. He is very indignant with the first Lord Lytton for asserting that "the business of a Colonial Legislature can only be like that of a large vestry." He supposes that "the politics of Athens, in Sir Bulwer Lytton's mode of regarding these things, were very small indeed compared with the politics of the British Empire of the present day." Lord Lytton would certainly not have considered Athenian politics as a small matter. Athens was an empire, as Great Britain is one, and the cares of empire were upon her statesmen. So long as the Australian colonies retain their political connexion with the mother-country, their business must necessarily, from one point of view, resemble the business of a large vestry. But then we think the business of a large vestry very much more important, if properly managed, than Sir Archibald Michie apparently does. However, we entirely agree with him that, if these vast dependencies are to remain dependencies, pains must be taken to keep their policy in harmony with that of England. What means can be selected for that end neither he nor any one else seems yet to have discovered. He thinks Rome showed more insight than England into the art of colonizing, in that she made all her provincials glory in Roman citizenship. He forgets that this was done at the cost of the absolute annihilation of local independence, and that when the central force withered the limbs withered with the heart. Colonies like those of Australia and Canada, should the occasion ever come, would take a great deal more killing before they died than Roman Britain. Sir Archibald Michie sees the incongruity of one or two particular proposals which have been made, whether by colonists or by the late Sir Arthur Helps, for representing the colonies at the Privy Council or in Parliament. He shows the self-contradictory character of the suggestion that peerages should be distributed among leading colonists. Wealth would, he assumes, be a necessary condition; and "imagine," he appeals to his St. Kilda audience, "the three or four very richest amongst us ennobled—made peers to-morrow; would you not be forcibly reminded of the text, 'As a ring of gold in a swine's mouth, so is the Victorian peer with only his possessions'?" The difficulty obviously is, apart from the possibility of a combination of the indispensable wealth with other higher qualifications in colonists, that a peerage implies duties in England. The honour would therefore have a tendency to frus-

trate the very object for which it would have been conferred—of planting in Australia representatives and champions of the British connexion. Sir Archibald Michie thinks retired Governors in the House of Lords would be useful. But the real specific, he considers, is a reform in the English mode of looking at Australian practices, wants, and prejudices. Emigration, he holds, should be assisted directly by the mother-country. But what if the mother-country does not deem emigration conducive to her own interests? The loan of Queen's ships for free passages he recommends as one form which the contribution might take. He evidently thinks an ironclad could be turned into an emigration transport at no cost. From a lawyer's point of view, he animadverts on the grievance that Westminster Hall takes no notice of "well-considered and carefully prepared judgments of Supreme Courts of British colonies." As a member of Australian society, he is angry that an English bishop should have ever thought it natural to recommend an emigrant gentleman of damaged character to Australian acquaintances on the ground that, "although he had forfeited his position in the mother-country, it had occurred to his friends that he might do very well in a colony." He appreciates the humour of Charles Lamb's question to a Sydney correspondent—"Do you grow your own hemp?" But he is seriously vexed with Mr. Horne for complaining that an English writer, a Mr. Whitehead (Whitty?), "was socially unappreciated" in Victoria. Even if Victorians are "not so aesthetic or literary as they are in England," though he hardly admits the fact, why make them, he expostulates, "long for the unattainable"? Australians may sometimes be vulgar and worldly, but so are many home-abiding Englishmen.

After all, not fastidious English critics, but Australians themselves, are the worst sinners against local patriotism. They are unhappily addicted, as soon as they have made their fortunes, to migrating to Hyde Park. If all flesh is grass, much of Hyde Park flesh, Sir Archibald Michie remarks, is certainly Australian grass. These truants do not know when they are well off. They "fly from sunshine to fog." They forsake an air so tonic that, "unlike the mother-country, men lose fortunes and do not cut their throats," so "dulcifying" that ferrets, instead of preying upon rabbits, are actually accused of "fraternizing" with them. They exchange for the constraints of London society which welcome them coldly, a land in which, Sir Archibald Michie declares somewhat boldly, men and women may eat and dress and live as they like "without the fear of Mrs. Grundy." They go away from an existence of which the only fault is that it is given up to too continuous pleasure-making. They abandon their inheritance in a distinct stratification and flora and fauna, of which the only apparent defect is that sparrows propagate and not nightingales, and the only inconvenience that seaside slumbers may be disturbed by the bellowings of some "bull-whale come into the bay at night to look after his old woman that the fishermen harpooned the other day." If Australians will go to what they obstinately call home, go they must. Sir Archibald Michie acquiesces in the inevitable. But he seems to think that colonists ought at least to curb this impulse until they have 20,000*l.* a year.

Victoria is naturally the main theme of its Agent-general. For New South Wales he has but a word. It is a word of regret that Victoria's "inconveniently big neighbour" should not resign to her, "jammed away down as she is into the extreme south-eastern corner of the vast island," the Riverina territory of which the Sydney Government, as he asserts, "has scarcely ever taken notice except for the purpose of taxing it." South Australia is also too big. A year or two ago "one Supreme Court judge, a sheriff, tipstaff, and all the paraphernalia of a Criminal Court, were shipped off from Adelaide, at a cost of many hundreds of pounds, to travel by sea upwards of three thousand miles to a gaol delivery in the northern territory. The gaol had to be delivered only of one Chinaman, the solitary prisoner for trial. He was tried, convicted, sentenced, and ultimately contrived to escape. Court, sheriffs, tipstaff, and many others were all drowned on their return, the steamer having been wrecked on a reef." However, South Australia is, though equally big, not like New South Wales, a rival of Victoria, and the volume contains an interesting and sympathetic account of South Australian progress. South Australia has had, like Victoria, its mining fever; but it took the form of a pining after "blue and green carbonates" instead of nuggets. Sir Archibald Michie describes very pleasantly the discovery of the Burra copper quarry and the neighbouring mines. The treasures had been always there, heaped on the surface of the fields; yet they were not visible till the right eyes looked upon them. 9,000*l.* a year for an outlay of 60*l.* rewarded the family of the owner of the eyes. How the Adelaide tradesmen and the Adelaide gentry divided one huge mining potentiality, and how the latter lost in the apportionment, reads like a chapter in a sporting novel, only that the interest is more legitimate. We must not, however, linger longer over a book which might have been well curtailed of some of its ephemeral humour and rhetoric, but which, in a short compass, comprises more information on the prospects and resources of Victoria than any other work with which we are acquainted. If Sir Archibald Michie would forget that he has been a lecturer and a newspaper correspondent, there is no one who could, by simply narrating the results of his experience, promote more his official and personal object of revealing to the mother-country the magnificent field still open to energy and industry in the great colony of which he is the Agent.

WRITTEN ON THEIR FOREHEADS.*

THE object of this novel is apparently to give the reader the benefit of Mr. Robert H. Elliot's experiences as a coffee planter in Mysore, and his views on a variety of Indian questions on which those experiences enable him to pronounce an *ex cathedrā* judgment. The machinery of the tale is set in motion by two Cheltenham schoolboys—Martin Kerr, who seems to do duty for Mr. Robert H. Elliot himself, and his friend, Edward Lorrain; but, as the latter goes off to Australia early in the tale and does not turn up again, his share in the plot is of the slightest. However, he serves the purpose of taking his friend to spend a school Saturday afternoon and Sunday holiday at his uncle's in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham. This gentleman keeps a private lunatic asylum, of which one of the inmates is a Miss Annie Leigh, a young lady suffering from melancholia. The boys dine with the family, Martin Kerr taking in to dinner the young lady, with whom, as she is apparently not more than two or three years older than himself, of course he straightway falls in love. What is perhaps not quite so natural, grown-up young ladies not being usually given to fall in love with schoolboys, she returns his affection. However, this may perhaps be explained by the fact that she is not quite in her right mind. But her cure is speedily effected, mainly through the agency of a collie dog which our hero gives her, and of his own cheerful society, bestowed on the asylum whenever he gets a Saturday afternoon out from school; and in due time the lady—who was placed in the asylum under an assumed name—is removed by her guardian, just about the time when Martin Kerr is taken from school and shipped off to India by his father, to make his fortune as a coffee planter in Mysore. He leaves England without having any trace of her real name or residence, but with a firm resolve to come back some day and win her as his wife. Arrived at Mysore, Martin is hospitably received by one John Grant, a prosperous planter, living part of the year on his estate in the mountains of Mysore with his niece and sister-in-law, and retiring for the rainy season to Bangalore. This gentleman is a kind host and also a practical philosopher, as witness the following pregnant remarks:—

"By the way, where do you get your books here?" asks Martin Kerr the day after his arrival at the planter's bungalow.

"Books!" echoed John Grant; "thank heaven we are as free of books as we are of neighbours. Why, there is no more strength in books than in apothecaries' drugs. I forget who it was that said that the best books were written where the fewest were read. The education of books is the least part of education. You see, you want the absence of books to bring out the creative and imaginative powers, and plenty of nature to preserve the spring of the mind, and develop the observing faculties. What have continual plodders ever learnt but base authority from others' brains, and precious base authority it often is too."

But, although delivering himself thus sternly regarding the pernicious influence of books, the philosopher so far qualifies his dictum as to permit Martin to supply himself with Byron, the *Spectator*, and Buckle's *History of Civilization*; also for "dinner books" an "illustrated edition" of *Don Quixote*—the quality of the illustrations is not apparently of importance—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, two of Bulwer's novels, and *Chambers's Encyclopedia*, "with the maps bound up separately." Of course, putting these sentiments into the mouth of Mr. John Grant is merely a thin disguise for furnishing us with the opinions of Mr. Robert H. Elliot on the subject of English literature; but, whether or not it be the result of cultivating "the creative and imaginative powers" in the jungles of Mysore by the study of *Chambers's Encyclopedia* and Buckle's *History of Civilization*—"Buckle," says the philosopher, "will teach you to acquire a reflective habit of mind, and to exercise it by showing you how interesting it is to at least try and fit everything into its right hole"—certainly nothing can be more thoroughly commonplace than the long conversations scattered through the book, or more tame than the descriptive portions. Mr. Elliot makes several attempts to convey the impressions produced by the beautiful scenery of the Western Ghauts, but they are not successful. Although, however, Mr. Grant allows our hero a certain limited number of English books, he is very stiff on the subject of Indian literature:—

"By the way," said Martin Kerr, "you have not given me the name of a single book about India."

"I am aware of that. You have not read anything about the country, have you?"

"No."

"Well, that's all the better. Don't do so for at least three or four years. Nothing injures the observing faculties so much. If . . . you read India first, and experience it afterwards, your experiences will be biased by what you have read."

As our hero seems to have returned to England before the limit of time laid down by Mr. Grant, he had not then got beyond the preliminary stage of personal observation presented by his Mentor, which may account for a certain degree of crudeness apparent in the opinions which Mr. Elliot apparently expresses through his mouth towards the end of the book. Not, however, that Martin Kerr trusts entirely to his own observation. On his way home he employed his leisure time on board the steamer in pumping the other passengers. "If any one is interested about India, he will find plenty of people on board a steamer who are glad to talk about it; but they seldom will do so voluntarily, knowing that most men hate India, and after they have quitted it seldom care to hear of it again." We are bound to say that our own experience hardly

bears out the truth of this profound generalization; and Mr. Elliot's experiences must have been exceptional if there were no Josh Sedleys on board his steamer ready to bring out on the slightest encouragement their story of Cutler of the Artillery, and life at Dum dum. But indeed, although his fellow-passengers may have been naturally uncommunicative, their reserve yielded to the fascination wrought on them by the modest inquirer from Mysore. "Having an interest and an object, he created talk in others; and by the time he landed at Marseilles had heard more useful information about India from north to south than if he had read everything that had been written about the country." Nor is his thirst for knowledge wholly quenched by these deep draughts on board the P. and O. steamer. On reaching England Martin Kerr pays a visit to the India Office Library, where he appears to be properly scandalized at finding some valuable Oriental manuscripts, and learning that the Indian Government are bringing out an edition of the *Rig-Veda*, while, on the visitor retiring, "before the door was closed the librarian was lost in the study of an antique Sanscrit MS.;" from which delicate touch of satire we are to infer that the author thinks he would have been more usefully employed in dusting the bookshelves. Martin now applied himself to master the contents of the India Office Library, "but found that there was literally no means of getting at the rudiments of the subject. There was a huge jungle of reports, gazetteers, annual accounts of the moral and material progress of India, district manuals, famine reports, irrigation reports—reports, in short, on almost every subject under the sun. But there was no book to start a beginner with, no book containing a general view of the subject, and special directions as to what reports and books should be referred to in order to follow up any particular branch into all its ramifications." One cannot but be impressed with the modesty of a man who has already gained "more useful information about India from north to south" from the passengers on board the P. and O. steamer "than if he had read everything that had been written about the country," thus guilelessly wanting to be coached "from the beginning," and complaining that the India Office does not supply inquirers like himself with an Indian primer. However, undeterred by the culpable supineness of the authorities at the India Office, he goes manfully to work to prepare a lecture which he had promised to deliver on the Indian question, "in which he went thoroughly into all that could be done to improve the condition of the Indian farmer and Indian agriculture, and to mitigate the causes that lead to famines"; and a few days afterwards he delivered it at a meeting of the members of the Society for the Propagation of the Truth about India. This playful way of hitting off public institutions is a good sample, by the way, of Mr. Elliot's light and airy form of bantering satire. But, although this lecture by the modest young man whose Indian experiences had been limited to a few months passed on the mountain wilds in a remote corner of the country, is meant to go "thoroughly into all that could be done to mitigate the condition of the Indian farmer," and a good deal else besides, it does not, strange to say, evoke much excitement in the London world. "There were a few paragraphs here and there in the morning papers, little more than half-a-dozen sentences each, and—well, that was all."

Martin Kerr, having thus failed to set the Thames on fire, starts off to pay a visit to a married sister near Pau. The journey is a good specimen of Mr. Elliot's powers of vivid description, the result of that development of "the creative and imaginative powers" brought about by "the absence of books, with plenty of nature to preserve the spring of the mind." "A nasty passage to Calais, then the train to Paris, another look at the spot outside the station where he had seen Annie Leigh just two years ago. Next day the route to Bordeaux, where he slept the night. On the following morning he took the eastward train, and went up the Gave to Pau, and just at sundown reached the Hôtel de France, which overlooks the river. He dined alone, and rather late; then he adjourned to the smoking-room, and spent a pleasant half-hour with a wandering Anglo-Indian who had just come abroad to escape the English winter. At half-past ten he went to bed." The whole book is written in this style. Well might the traveller who had made the eventful journey thus graphically told exclaim, a few pages further on, "Something extraordinary is happening to me wherever I go." And, indeed, something extraordinary is about to happen. It need hardly be said that Annie Leigh, whom Martin Kerr, notwithstanding his firm resolves, had so far taken no means whatever to find out, turns up at Pau, next-door neighbour to his sister, clothed and in her right mind. Nor need it be said, too, that she has been nourishing a silent attachment all this time for the Cheltenham schoolboy whom she had no reasonable grounds for supposing she should ever see again.

It is difficult to review a book of this sort seriously—plot, matter, and style are all so irredeemably commonplace; but it will be seen from this imperfect sketch of the plot that the love-making has no connexion whatever with the author's promulgation of his theories on the subject of Indian administration. As may be supposed, the man who could "go thoroughly into the subject in a single lecture" can manage to say a good deal about it in the course of two volumes; but as the utterances of our reformer are supposed to be delivered from the stand-point of a remote Mysore jungle, and by a person who has fortified himself for his mission by limiting his derived knowledge to what he could pick up on board the P. and O. steamer on his way home, it is hardly to be supposed that his views on the subject are fully adequate to the case. By the way, we have not mentioned a certain Brahmin sage, or a young mis-

* Written on their Foreheads. By Robert H. Elliot, Author of "Experiences of a Planter." 2 vols. London : Sampson Low & Co. 1879.

sionary who has long arguments with him, in which the missionary gets much the worst of it; or the sage's daughter Kambla, brought up to read and speak English and to mix in such society as Mysore jungles afford, and with whom the missionary, a weak-minded young man, falls in love, and, failing to get a favourable response, gives up his mission and goes home to England. Kambla may be, and indeed probably is, drawn from life, for Mr. Elliot may be acquitted of any exhibition of the power of drawing on his imagination. But she is certainly unlike the majority of Indian young women, and the part which deals with her is the most interesting part of what is, we are bound to say, a very uninteresting book, although it is fair to add that we have read duller ones.

SAVONAROLA.*

IN the Luther monument erected at Worms some years ago a niche was assigned to Savonarola, among "the precursors of the Reformation." And Mr. Clark warns us in his preface that two modern German writers, whose industry was more commendable than their judgment, Rudelbach and Meier, have considerably detracted from the value of otherwise useful works "by their persistent attempts to prove that Savonarola was a Protestant." There could hardly be a greater mistake, or one more fatal to any real comprehension of the significance of a grand and unique career. It is true that Savonarola preached during his last Lent against Papal infallibility, which was considered in his day quite an open question; that he did not scruple to identify Rome with the Babylon of prophecy; and that he even addressed a "Letter to the Princes of Europe," in which he denied that Alexander VI. was Pope at all, on account of his simoniacal purchase and administration of his high office and his notorious unbelief. But that was purely a matter of fact, familiar enough to men's minds within the same century which had witnessed the close of the "great schism" of the Anti-popes. And it is curious that in his last moments he should have acknowledged Alexander's jurisdiction by accepting the plenary indulgence rather inconsistently offered to him and his two fellow-sufferers by the Papal commissioners immediately after their solemn excommunication. But of his strict Catholic orthodoxy there can at all events be no sort of doubt. In his great work, the *Trionfo della Croce*, written when he was already under the ban of Rome, he most expressly asserts the headship of the Roman Pontiff, as the divinely ordained successor of St. Peter. Nor would it be difficult to show that canonized Saints have spoken as strongly as Savonarola against the vices and misgovernment of particular Popes. Those who find in his teaching on penitence an anticipation of Lutheranism only prove, as his biographer observes, that they are not acquainted with the Catholic doctrine on the subject. His speciality lay rather in the vigour, impartiality, and terrible effectiveness of his denunciation of current abuses, and in the claim he put forward to supernatural gifts, which he was by many at the time and afterwards—including apparently his present biographer—believed to possess. He had all the boldness but none of the arrogance of Luther, and would as soon have thought of questioning the doctrines of his Church or violating the rules of his Order—which he did his utmost to revive in their pristine strictness and purity—as of condoning the moral and social corruption which he both spent and sacrificed his life in seeking to reform. No tolerably adequate conception can be formed of his true character and place in history without first understanding something of the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century, to which Mr. Clark accordingly devotes his opening chapter, though the limits he has imposed on himself do not permit him to do more than glance very cursorily at so vast a theme. We are rather surprised that in the somewhat meagre list of authorities referred to in a note Mr. J. A. Symonds's recent work is not included, which, to say the least, handles the subject much more exhaustively and critically than either Gibbon or Milman. Mr. Clark is quite justified in his reference to what he calls "an absurd renaissance of the *Renaissance*" in our own day, though he perhaps underrates its extent and immediate power for evil, however little it may be in harmony with "the real thought and convictions of the age." The state of Papal and clerical morality in Savonarola's time may be judged of from two circumstances noticed by him, and he certainly shows no disposition to exaggerate the gravity of the crisis. On one occasion a subject of Innocent VIII., who had murdered his two daughters, was set free on the day fixed for his execution on the payment of 800 ducats. When the Papal vice-chamberlain was questioned on the matter, he replied—as Infessura tells us, who says he was present and heard the words—"God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should pay and live; and so we think in Bologna." On another occasion the Papal Vicar for Rome issued an edict threatening all laymen guilty of concubinage with excommunication, and the clergy with suspension and deprivation. The Pope ordered the edict to be at once withdrawn, because concubinage or worse offences were universal among them. His Holiness might with perfect veracity have illustrated the statement from his own example.

As with many of the greatest men who have left their mark on the age, Savonarola's life was a comparatively short one, and the

period of his chief activity was compressed into the last few years of it. He was born at Ferrara in 1452 and put to death at Florence in 1498. It was only in the Lent of 1491 that he was first called to preach in the Duomo of Florence, which was destined to be the theatre of his marvellous though transient influence, and in the following July he was elected Prior of St. Mark's. In the previous year he had preached his first course of sermons in the Convent chapel, on the Apocalypse, and the effect was instantaneous:

His first sermon was preached on the 1st of August—soon, therefore, after his return to Florence—and his success was assured from the beginning. The church was so crowded that the brothers had to stand on the walls of the choir; and the effect of the sermon was prodigious. Savonarola, referring to it afterwards, said it was a terrible sermon (*una predica terribile*); and, from the account which he has left, we may learn that he had now, once and for ever, taken up that great theme which was to be the uninterrupted subject of his teaching and warnings so long as he was permitted to preach.

"On the 1st of August of this year," he says, "on a Sunday, I began to explain publicly the Apocalypse in our church of S. Mark. During the whole course of that year I continued to set forth to the Florentines these three propositions: 1. The Church of God must be renovated, and that in our time; 2. Italy is to be scourged before this renovation; 3. All these things will happen very soon. I endeavoured to demonstrate these three points to my hearers, and to persuade them by probable arguments, by allegories taken from Holy Scripture, and by other similitudes or parables drawn from what was taking place in the Church. I insisted upon reasons of this kind, and I kept back the knowledge which God gave me of these things by other means, because men's minds did not seem to me at that time in a condition to understand those mysteries."

The same account is given by Burlamacchi, who says that he began by proving his three propositions from reason and Scripture, not considering the people prepared to believe in the visions by means of which he had obtained this knowledge; and afterwards, when he saw in his hearers a better disposition, he began to make known to them the revelations which he had received, but by way of parables and figuratively.

His settlement at Florence brought him at once into contact, and therefore into rivalry, with Lorenzo de' Medici, the brilliant representative alike of the brighter and the darker side of the Renaissance. As a boy Lorenzo had seen a bust of Plato kept with a lamp burning constantly before it in the chamber of his grandfather, Cosmo de' Medici, and had heard him express his wish that the Platonic philosophy should be expounded in the pulpit. He was himself the intimate friend of the infamous Poliziano—of whose true character Mr. Clark seems but imperfectly aware—and had so little regard for the sanctions of Christian morality that he actually composed the famous *Canti* to be sung at the Carnival by the young nobles, which would in these days indubitably bring an English author under the operation of Lord Campbell's Act. The instinctive and stern antipathy of Savonarola to such a man needs no recondite explanation. Mr. Clark thus relates what he rightly accepts, on an overwhelming weight of evidence, as the true record of their first and last interview. In the days of his health and prosperity Savonarola had sternly rejected all overtures from Lorenzo, however flattering, to enter into friendly relations with him. But as death drew near, and his better nature began to assert itself, Lorenzo expressed a desire to see the great preacher, "because I have never yet found a religious like him." But still the monk held aloof. "Tell him," said he, "that I am not what he wants, for we shall not agree, and therefore it is not expedient for me to come." But Lorenzo sent another and more pressing message, and he went:—

The dying man said he had three sins to confess, for which he asked absolution: the sack of Volterra, the money taken from the *Monte delle Fanciulle*, and the blood shed in punishing those who were implicated in the Pazzi conspiracy. While speaking of these things he became greatly agitated, and Savonarola, to calm him, kept on repeating: "God is good, God is merciful; but," he went on, "you must do three things." "What are they, father?" asked Lorenzo. The countenance of Savonarola became grave as, extending the fingers of his right hand, he replied: "First, you must have a great and living faith in the mercy of God." "In that I have the greatest faith." "Secondly, you must restore all that you have wrongly taken away, or instruct your sons to make restitution for you." For a moment this demand seemed greatly to distress Lorenzo; but, at last, making an effort, he signified his assent by an inclination of his head. The third requirement was yet to be made. Savonarola became still more solemn in manner, and seemed to increase in stature as with terrible earnestness he continued: "Lastly, you must restore liberty to your native country, as it was in the early days of the republic of Florence." It was touching the root of the man's family pride and ambition. Summoning his remaining strength, he angrily turned his back upon the friar, and refused to utter another word. Savonarola departed without pronouncing absolution, and Lorenzo died soon afterwards, on the same day, April 8th, 1492.

The death of Lorenzo was quickly followed by that of Innocent VIII., and it was observed that Savonarola had predicted both events from the pulpit. But their successors Piero de' Medici and Alexander VII. proved craftier and deadlier foes to him, though at first their enmity was concealed. It is not true to say that he meddled with politics for their own sake. But he could not be indifferent to the vices of a government which he saw to be closely connected with the demoralization of the people. He understood that the destruction of liberty involved the sacrifice of all that was good and noble in human nature, and therefore constantly warned the citizens of Florence that the reformation of manners was the first step to a restoration of liberty. He had nothing to do with the expulsion of Piero from Florence, and it was not till after his departure that he began to introduce political matter into his sermons, because the people expected and required guidance from him. Nor can it be maintained that he was in abstract theory a republican. But he considered a republic preferable to a despotism, and there was no prospect of a monarchy

* *Savonarola; His Life and Times.* By W. R. Clark, M.A., Vicar of Taunton. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

taking any other shape at Florence than despotism, and moreover an immoral despotism. "Your life," he told the people, "is the life of swine"; and contemporary testimony too fully attests the justice of his verdict:—

They were madly addicted to gambling, and to the most degrading vices. They were indecent in their attire—a sure sign of the degeneracy of their morals—and vices and crimes prevailed widely which are not fit even to be named among us. It is to be feared that these were not discouraged—that they were even promoted—by the friends of the classical Renaissance.

On the question of Savonarola's prophetic gifts opinions differed widely at the time, as they have differed since, even among his warmest admirers. That he distinctly laid claim to this power there can be as little doubt as of his perfect sincerity in claiming it; and that he did in many cases remarkably forecast the future, however it may be explained, is no less clear. On one point at all events contemporary testimony is unequivocal, and that is as to the profound effect produced by the great preacher of righteousness at Florence:—

The aspect of the whole city seemed to be changed. The luxuries and indecent costumes which he had so indignantly denounced disappeared from the streets and the homes of Florence. Hymns were heard everywhere in the place of the Carnival songs which had formerly been popular. Workmen devoted their leisure hours to reading the Bible and religious books. The neglect of public worship, which he had mentioned as one of the signs of the approaching scourge, no longer existed. The churches were crowded. Prayer and almsgiving seemed to be universal. Men of business were led to restore sums of money which they had unjustly acquired. Abstinence was practised to such an extent that it was thought disgraceful to sell meat on days of fasting. Schools and shops were closed during the time of preaching.

Perhaps the most striking tribute was paid to it by the wretched Alexander VI., when he sent a Dominican from Rome to offer Savonarola the red hat on condition he would change his style of preaching. "I want neither hats nor mitres," he replied in his next sermon, "I want only what Thou hast given to Thy saints—death, a hat red with blood." And the Pope was only too ready to grant his desire. But if Savonarola had a certain element of Puritanism in him, which perhaps asserted itself too rigidly in the celebrated "burning of the vanities"—familiar to English readers in the graphic sketch of *Romola*—he was no vulgar fanatic or enemy of knowledge and the arts. When the magnificent library of the Medici, which had become the property of the State, was put up for sale and was in danger of being dispersed, Savonarola purchased it for St. Mark's, and thus secured for Florence that *Biblioteca Laurenziana* which remains to this day one of its principal glories. He was indeed the friend and patron of artists. Fra Bartolomeo was a brother of his own convent and one of his most intimate associates; Lorenzo di Credi was among his disciples, and Michael Angelo in his youth sat beneath his pulpit, and was a diligent reader of his sermons in after years. He even wrote himself on poetry and painting.

We have no room to follow his biographer through the successive stages of the touching and tragical story of the reaction against Savonarola, his betrayal and martyrdom. It was natural that his followers should love to dwell on the curious coincidence between some details in the record of his sufferings and of a yet more awful Passion. He was arrested on Palm Sunday, and his trial took place in Holy Week, though his execution was deferred till the Eve of Ascension Day; he was studiously insulted, struck, tortured, and spat upon; and when no cross examination could extort from him any confession of guilt or any denial of the divine mission he believed himself to have received, his words were deliberately falsified, and one of his disciples, Cecconi, was tortured and terrified into bearing false witness against him. Cecconi afterwards died in despair, refusing the sacraments, and declaring that like Judas he had committed an unpardonable sin. At the last moment, as the martyr stood beneath the gallows, a mocking voice from the crowd exclaimed, "Now, prophet, is the moment to work a miracle." But his constancy never failed. He heard his sentence with perfect calmness; the Bishop of Vasona, a former disciple, who was employed to degrade him, blundered in his odious task, and to the prescribed formula *Separo te ab Ecclesiâ militante* added, in his confusion, the words *atque triumphantem*, whereupon Savonarola promptly interposed, *Militante, non triumphantem; hoc enim tuum non est.*" He recited the *Te Deum* all through with his two companions, Fra Domenico and Fra Salvatore, who died before him, and then softly repeated the Apostles' Creed by himself. All three were hung, and then their bodies were burnt, and the remains cast into the Arno. But some fragments were gathered up and preserved as relics, and were believed to have a miraculous efficacy. Attempts have been made from time to time by the Dominicans to get Savonarola canonized, and a complete Breviary office for his festival was actually compiled, of which copies are still extant. But as the Pope who condemned him to death, Alexander VI., is described in one of the lessons as a man of Belial or in some equally complimentary terms—the exact phrase has escaped our memory—it is not perhaps unintelligible that the Holy See did not see its way to sanctioning the use of it. Alexander was certainly a Pope, and it is therefore a pious opinion, though scarcely an historical one—elaborately defended not many years ago in the *Dublin Review*—that he was a pontiff of lofty character and unblemished life. But if Savonarola has not been canonized, the most unimpeachably orthodox of Catholics have not scrupled to revere him as a Saint. St. Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratory, who deserves his saintly title if a long life of piety, unselfishness, and charity may be held to confer a claim to it, and who was born in Florence twenty years after Savonarola's death, always cherished a

reverent affection for his memory, and when the question was raised of placing his work on the Index went to the Dominican Church in Rome to pray that so great a scandal might be averted. In our own day Dr. Newman has devoted the greater part of one of his sermons on "the Mission of St. Philip" to an account of "the Apostle of Florence," whom he commends as "a zealous and heroic man," though he will not quite admit him to be a saint. "It was," he observes, "the truth of his cause, the earnestness of his convictions, the singleness of his aims, the impartiality of his censures, the intrepidity of his menaces, which constituted the secret of his success." And he proceeds to give long extracts from these intrepid discourses, culminating in the characteristic epigram, "In the primitive Church the chalices were of wood, and the prelates of gold; but now the chalices are of gold, and the prelates of wood." Mr. Clark's biography is founded in great measure on Villari's *Storia di Girolamo Savonarola e de' suoi Tempi*, and is a painstaking, accurate, and impartial record of a noble life; but there is a certain deficiency in breadth of treatment and dramatic interest. The book loses something in these respects from the conscientious effort to compress so large an amount of solid information into so small a space.

THE HATTON CORRESPONDENCE.*

EVERY one recalls, though not necessarily from the pages of history, the name of Sir Christopher Hatton, Queen Elizabeth's unfortunate Chancellor, who was said by his bitter rival, Sir John Perrot, to have come to court "by the Galliard," but whom the author of the *Fragmenta Regalia*, while recording the taunt, declares to have had, "besides the graces of his person and dancing, also the adjectaments of a strong and subtle capacity." From a younger brother of Sir Christopher's father was descended a namesake of the Chancellor, whose estate he inherited. This Sir Christopher Hatton of Kirby is the writer of the first of the letters contained in the interesting and entertaining *Correspondence* before us—a declaration of love, couched in the most elaborate style of a fantastic age, to the lady who afterwards became his wife. From their union sprang another Christopher, who was created Baron Hatton in 1643, and who in our political history is perhaps chiefly notable as the author of a strange matrimonial scheme (not referred to in the volumes before us) for attaching General Lambert to the cause of the exiled Charles II. On the Restoration Lord Hatton was appointed to the governorship of Guernsey. He died in 1670, after having for some years served his sovereign in that capacity, apparently without neglecting his own interests at the same time, for in 1664 "dearest Kett" is informed by his intimate friend and extremely candid correspondent, Sir Charles Lyttelton, "that the common whispers and open talk has been that you have received the pay of y^e soldier at Garsney for above a 12 month and payd the soldier never a penny." He was succeeded in the governorship by his son, afterwards first Viscount Hatton, to whom the greater part of the letters printed in these volumes are addressed. This Lord Hatton, whose daughter married the well-known Earl of Nottingham, seems to have followed the example of his son-in-law in accepting the results of a revolution which he disliked. At all events he remained Governor of Guernsey after 1688, and seems to have been at his post when the Channel Islands were believed to be threatened by French invasion in 1692. Whether he resigned the office before his death, which occurred in 1706, we are not informed; in his later years he generally appears as residing at the family seat, at Kirby in Northamptonshire, in the garden and orchard of which he evidently took a special interest.

If neither of the recipients of the great majority of the letters printed from the Hatton Correspondence can be justly described as a remarkable personage in any way, the same negative observation applies to most of their correspondents. An exception should perhaps be made in favour not only of the judicious Earl of Nottingham already referred to, whose letters, as Mr. Thompson points out, possess some historical importance, but also of Chief Justice Scroggs, whose daughter married Charles Hatton, the Viscount's brother and most assiduous correspondent. Scroggs's own letters, however, are but three in number, and these three are almost entirely confined to a single subject; for, as he observes, "You say very true, wine is answerd with nothing but wine . . . My L^d, you must not take it ill if I write of nothing but wine, for there is nothing I want more, nor of wⁿ I can better write, or more willingly—with this difference only, that wine wrott for has not halfe y^e elegancy as wine thankt for." The letter of Danby (i. 184), begging Lord Hatton's attendance and support at his impeachment, and the brief note from Marlborough (ii. 249), announcing the conclusion of the Grand Alliance, have the appearance of circulars, so to speak, rather than of purely personal communications; and the letter of thanks from the Duke of York (ii. 14), wears a not very different aspect. It will, by the by, not surprise any one acquainted with the history of the Exclusion Bill to find King Charles II. himself, through Lord Feversham, bidding Charles Hatton acquaint his brother (Lord Hatton) "y^t his ma^r is very desirous you woud not fail, if possible, to be here either Monday or Tuesday morning, as soone as

* Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, being chiefly Letters addressed to Christopher First Viscount Hatton, A.D. 1601—1704. Edited by Edward Maunde Thompson. 2 vols. Printed for the Camden Society. 1878.

"House sits." While we thus come across few letters in this correspondence to which any significance attaches from the political eminence of their writers, literature and the Church are represented in it only by a solitary, and not particularly pleasing, letter from Jeremy Taylor, and by a series of excessively unctuous epistles from Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who improves the occasion of a hard frost and the anterior prospect of thaw, and various other occasions and prospects, for the benefit of his correspondent, Lady Hatton. Science is represented by several letters from Dr. Edmund King, F.R.S., the eminent physician who was promised a reward of one thousand pounds for boldly bleeding King Charles II. during the fit which preceded his death; and who received instead the honour of knighthood, which, as Bishop Fell writes, "in truth, is the fining him a hundred pound."

If we are nevertheless of opinion that the Council of the Camden Society has been well advised in printing, under the superintendence of a most competent editor, this selection of letters from the Hatton Correspondence—itself only a part of the voluminous Finch-Hatton papers in the British Museum—the reason will not be far to seek. Though Mr. Thompson has been obliging enough in his preface to specify beforehand some of the best things to be found in the pages ensuing, he has by no means exhausted what is likely to prove attractive in their contents; and indeed there are not many among these pages which a judicious reader will be inclined altogether to skip. The seventeenth century, more especially its latter part, is among the periods of our history most abundantly illustrated by memoirs and letters; but it is for this very reason that we can never hear enough of men and women with whom we are already more or less familiar, and whose portraits, familiar to us from Evelyn and Pepys and Grammont and Reresby, have found an abiding place in Lord Macaulay's unrivalled historical portrait-gallery. In a thousand ways this Hatton Correspondence, succinctly but sufficiently annotated by its editor, supplements or confirms the knowledge we already possess of the reigns of Charles II. and of his unhappy brother; and the circumstance that it is chiefly addressed to and conducted by persons of moderate Tory views adds to the value of the light thrown by it upon the views prevailing in a large—probably the largest—section of the upper classes of the population at the time of the crisis of 1688. Once more we recognize that it was religious sentiment without which the Stuarts would never have been overthrown, as it was religious sentiment which made their return as Roman Catholics impossible. The Hattons themselves clearly belonged to the large class who were Tories if you pleased, but Church of England men first of all. Charles Hatton, who afterwards suffered considerable hardships (described in his wife's pitiable letters) during a temporary imprisonment as a suspected Jacobite, in October 1688, trusts that "y^e nation in generall will behave themselves wth loyalty to their prince and regard to their country y^e Dutch in 1688 will succeed noe better then y^e Spaniards did in 1588." But even with him his open expressions of antagonism and mistrust against "y^e Papists" and "y^e popish party" leave no doubt as to his views on matters ecclesiastical; and for all his sneers against "Dr. Burnt" (surely, upon the whole, the best-abused of all bishops), the fireworks for the Peace of Ryswick, and "his sacred Majesty" King William III. himself, it was not by such Tories or Jacobites as this honest gentleman that King William's government was in danger of being overthrown. While on the subject of religious creeds, we may remark that the very curious rumour, mentioned by Sir Charles Lyttelton in a letter of the year 1672 as having come from France, concerning Louis XIV.'s intentions of "uniting all his Xtian subjects in one profession of religion," was by no means, as, in the absence of other confirmatory news, Sir Charles heard it was understood to be, "mere raillery." Though, of course, the rumour misrepresented both the nature and extent of the concessions to be made on the Catholic side, and the determination of the King with regard to it, yet it is certain that the "reunion" of the Huguenots by conciliatory means was at this time much discussed in France, and that Louis XIV. took a warm interest in the scheme. Ranke has given an account of these matters in one of the most deeply interesting chapters of his *French History*—a chapter invaluable to students of that very difficult subject, the successive phases of the religious policy of Louis XIV.

But we must turn to lighter topics suggested by this correspondence, in which we have noted a much greater number of passages than it is possible even to indicate here. These lighter matters, however, often possess a grave significance; and we doubt whether any candid reader, after perusing such a series of letters as that before us, is likely to listen with patience to attempts to "rehabilitate" the Restoration age, or to represent its drama as other than a very faithful mirror of its society. Congreve and Wycherley might be annotated only too curiously from these letters; while Etherege appears in *propria persona* as the hero of a drunken frolic (besides sharing with Sir Charles Sedley the dangers of the falling roof of "y^e Tennis Cote in y^e Haymarket"). The comic dramatists had not far to go for their sentiments—hardly even for their dialogue. How must Mr. Richard Lane, afterwards Groom of the Bedchamber to King Charles II., have applauded in later days the echoes of his own sprightliness in the year 1658—a time when he could still irreverently write concerning rumours about "Charles Stuart"! As to courtship he writes as follows:

"Well, Kitt, doe any thinge but marry her, and that too if shee have money enough; but without it you shall neer have my consent, since that is to

reduce you to filthy dowlas and breadye and cheese, which, whilst the love lastes, is fancyed partridge and pheasant, but when that is gone (and wes know it will goe), then it turnes to cheese againe; and what will you doe then?"

This badinage of the future Groom of the Bedchamber is genuine Restoration wit, as Harry Savile's adventure at Althorp, of which the hero was the King's Vice-Chamberlain, is genuine Restoration gallantry, such as Astraea a hundred times brought on the stage. It does not appear to have lost "Harry Savile" his sovereign's favour, though it necessitated his temporary absence from England; but he soon returned to insult first the King himself and then the Duke of York by his witticisms, and, the former insolence having been "laid on y^e wine and he pardoned," to be banished the court on account of the other. Elsewhere in this correspondence the escapades of a very improper lady of fashion are duly reported by the Lord Chief Baron's wife to the pious Lady Hatton, who, according to the previous letter, had recently been inquiring from the Bishop of Oxford "of a book call'd the *Beauty of Holiness*, pretended to be written by the author of the *Whole Duty of Man*, whither it were really wrote by him." But probably the worst scandal of that scandalous age was its quarrelling and duelling, instances of which, often aggravated by various kinds of brutality, are noticed in a score of these letters. "The young gallants," as Sir Charles Lyttelton writes in 1680, "are tilting every day"; and indeed, so far as the period to which these letters belong are concerned, the new generation seemed worse than the old, even as the fifth Lord Mohun succeeded the fourth. The worst of these stories is the "most dismal" one "of my L^d Salisburys two brothers who he sent into France," narrated to her father by the Countess of Nottingham.

Whatever speculations may suggest themselves as to the connexion between the tone of morality in this age and its low average of education, a most fallacious test to apply to the latter would certainly, in the case of either sex, be its spelling. The greatest lady of Queen Anne's reign—the Duchess of Marlborough herself—was probably its worst speller; in the previous reigns the Hatton family and their correspondents would certainly have run hard any other competitor for the last place. Mr. Thompson has collected some of the choicest flowers in his preface, to which it would be superfluous to add such venial slips as "surcomstances," "charrectker," and "Middilcexs"; but can our readers guess at the words veiled beneath the unearthly forms "aprer" and "serqts," being no other than "opera" and "circuits"? At all events these vagaries sufficiently cover the mistake of the Frenchman, the great Mme. Dacier's brother, who told Charles Hatton "he lodg'd in Suffolk Street, vis à vis le Livre Rouge," but his Red Book proved to be y^e Roe Buck." It is curious, by the way, to find Ghent still spelt "Gaunt," and Colchester abbreviated in pronunciation, and accordingly in spelling, into "Colster," as in the former Gloucester and Worcester, and by some Chichester, are to the present day. Of female education in particular in this period we should conclude that its methods varied as widely as its results. We do not speak of such literary and social phenomena as the famous Duchess of Newcastle, of whom Sir Charles Lyttelton reports that "her behaviour was very pleasant, but rather to be seen than told. She was dressid in a vest, and, instead of courtesies, made leggs and bows to the ground with her hand and head." Nor do we even attach much importance to such a fact as that incidentally mentioned by Charles Hatton, who declares himself "very much pleased to here y^t not only my nephews but my neices are so good Latin scholars," and makes no doubt they can all "cappe verses" to their father's heart's content. But there is almost too great a contrast to be accounted for by mere difference of temperament between the several female correspondents to whom we are here introduced—between lively persons like "Mrs." Elizabeth Bodville on the one hand, and submissive creatures like the first Lord Hatton's consort on the other, who writes to her daughter thus:—

You were shewed y^e fine things y^t father brought me: furrender for a gowne, and 6 pair of gloves, and a paire of stockings, w^{ch} is more y^a I hoped for; and so sensible I am of y^e kindness y^t I desir you to help me to thank him for it. He is pleased, [continues this humble wife and anxious mother] to speak kindly to me, and is more cheerful yⁿ he was when he was last in the country; and I shall be as carfull not to say any thing y^t may displease him, w^{ch} puts me to a great stand in respect of other necessaries, both for myself and y^t poor sister Mary, who he has not given y^e worth of one penny to, nor till to day has not speake one word to her w^{ch} is a very great trouble both to her and me.

Evidently the question of the "submission of women" was, like many other questions, viewed very differently in town and country; indeed, the contrast between these two divisions of English social life was perhaps at no time more marked than in the later Stuart period—although Mr. Richard Lane puts the point with his usual dramatic effectiveness in declaring that "a London jayle with frinds and drinke, &c., I am for that much before your country shackle."

These volumes contain some curious references to pictures and picture-dealers, and (in Charles Hatton's later letters more especially) some interesting literary notes. "Seraphic" preachers, miraculous doctors, and extraordinary criminals are the products of most ages; and we have here specimens of all. But we have left ourselves no room for further extracts, or for more than a reference to the noteworthy employment of the term "Cabinet" (in the reign of Charles II. and of "Caball" in the reign of James II.) in a sense closely approaching the modern use of the former (see vol. ii. pp. 22, 50); and, again, to the use (early in Charles II.'s days) of the French title "Premier Minister" (see

vol. i. p. 34) or (applied to Danby, *ib.* p. 181), "Premier Minister d'estat," which the first real Prime Minister of England, Sir Robert Walpole, long afterwards rejected as un-English. It will be seen in how many directions a well-selected correspondence like that before us may serve to aid or stimulate study; and we conclude by once more commanding both the frequency and brevity of Mr. Thompson's notes, which are just what is required in a publication of this description. His preface should have been longer—or shorter. Among his *Corrigenda* he ought surely to have included his own note (vol. i. p. 55), which states Audley End to be near "Waltham" (read "Walden"), co. Essex.

LANGUAGES OF THE EAST INDIES.*

THIS is a useful and valuable book; and, if the execution of it were at all equal to its design, we might bestow upon it unqualified commendation. But it bears marks of very hasty composition; there are passages of which it is difficult to understand the meaning, and sentences which seem entirely inconsequential. In a work, too, of this scientific character something like regularity in the spelling of foreign words might be expected; but we find a bewildering variety. The author has shown here, as elsewhere, that he can write with great point and vigour, so that slipshod passages are the more disappointing. His "stock in trade" for the production of the book was, he tells us, "a good knowledge of twelve languages, six European and six Asiatic, a good memory, and a great passion for the study." With all these qualifications he ought to have produced a more accurate work—accurate, we mean, in little things, for in principles and opinions we are generally in accord with him. He says that he shall "welcome criticisms, however severe, if made in good faith and based upon truth." We have no intention of being severe, and we hope to justify the criticisms we have to offer. First, as to the minor subject of spelling. In the first page of his preface the author animadverts upon gentlemen of the India Office who do not know "the difference between a *Jájir* and a *Jhagrá*, a *fusul* and a *faisala*." But there is good excuse for these gentlemen; and, if among them there were one more knowing than the rest, he might ask if the word *Jájir* is not a blunder for *Jágir* (with a hard *g*, not a *j*), and why the same vowel sound is represented in *fusul* with the letter *u* and in *Jhagrá* and *faisala* with the letter *a*. A writer is at liberty to adopt the spelling that he deems preferable; but he should be consistent. In p. 15 he uses the technical grammatical terms "*tatsumuhs*" and "*tadbhávas*." There should be no accent on the second *a* in the latter word; it is short, like the rest, and every one of the vowels in both words is the same; why, then, the variety of rendering? There is no difference in the sound, so the variety of spelling is misleading. Why, too, should the letter *h*, the sign of the nominative case, be kept in the former word and rejected in the latter? In "a future edition" we hope to find "*tatsuma* and *tadbhava*," or, if we cannot have these, we will be content with *tutsumu* and *tudbhuvu*. In like manner we have Pahári and Puhári, Pahária and Puhária, Parbatya and Purbatya, Nerbudda and Narbudda, Panjábi and Punjábi. Why should we have Chikakole in p. 12 and Chicacole in p. 68, and Singhbhum and Singbhumi indifferently? Vizagapatam is a well-known place, and presumably it is the place called Vizigapatam in p. 49, and Vijigapatam in p. 78. Why should the Vindhya mountains ever be called Vyndha, as in p. 82? The province of "Buhar" is frequently mentioned, but the correct spelling is Bihár (from the Sanskrit *Vidhára*). We have frequently seen "Behar," and occasionally even "Bahar," but "Buhar" is new to us. Some startling use is made of the accent. In the early part of the work the country and language of "Káchh" is spoken of; in later pages it is correctly given as "Kachh," the "Cutch" of the vulgar spelling. In "Satpurá mountains" the accent properly belongs to the first syllable, not to the last. Which does Mr. Cust choose as accurate, the Bráhui of p. 41 or the Brahui of p. 80? Following the common but inaccurate pronunciation of Europeans, he invariably writes Himaláya, but his scholarship should have reminded him that the correct form is Himáláya. It may be Quixotic to combat a generally received pronunciation, but a vicious rendering should not be stamped as accurate.

We must close this part of our subject, not for want of more materials, with the final remark that the well-known Buddhist work is not "the Makavanso by Turner," but "the Mahávanso by Turnour." The meaning of the following passage is not obvious, and its meaning has to be guessed:—"The language (of Assam) existed in its present form for centuries, and the pronunciation corresponds rather with the Hindi Language-Field, whence came the emigration of its colonists, than with that of Bengal, who had no access to the valley until after the Mahomedan invasion." The affinity of the pronunciation with that of the Hindi may be admitted, but the reference to the Mahomedan invasion has no bearing on the matter; the Bengalis were the nearest neighbours to the Assamese both before and after that invasion, and there was no special barrier against their entrance into the country which did not exist against the far more distant Hindi-speaking people. In p. 49 we read, but cannot see how, "It is clear that by Rangri he (Sir J. Malcolm) meant at that time Dialects of Hindi,

spoken all over Central India, and now resolved into separate Tribal and Political subdivisions"; and we can only make a guess at the meaning of the following:—"Uriya has a Literature, the earliest monuments of which date back three hundred years, partly synthetic and partly analytic, indicating that it existed long before Bengali was a fixed and settled language." It must be the language that is partly synthetic and partly analytic; but it must be the "monuments" which give the indications of its age. Of this language, also, we are told that "it is the only one of the North Indic characters which has adopted the curvilinear form of the upper strokes"; and the reason is assigned—the "strait incised line would have split the palm leaves on which it was written." Only five pages further on we are told that the Gujarati, another North Indian dialect, has also omitted this upper strait line, and so has become curvilinear; but nothing is said about the palm leaves, because they were not in use in Gujarat. In p. 133 there is a passage about the Malay language of which we can only make sense by changing a comma into a full stop, and a full stop into a comma. But here we must desist, for it is not our duty to point out all the errors which we have noticed, though we have done something towards supplying the corrections which the author invited, and perhaps have satisfied him that the book requires a very careful revision.

Mr. Cust says that he began his studies "by making a general and superficial survey of the whole subject of our existing knowledge from Chinese to Anglo-Saxon, from Assyrian and Accadian to Finnic and Basque, and was astonished at the progress that had been made, the number of workers, the number of books published, the extraordinary energy, interest, and acumen displayed, the number of controversies which were raging, and the bitterness displayed by scholars towards each other." But his old feeling of attachment to the land of his labours made him ask "What can I do for India?" and he resolved to do what he could in elucidating the nature and affinities of the languages of that country. On setting systematically to work, he found that he was unable to confine himself to India, and that it was necessary to "embrace the whole of that region known for the last three centuries as the East Indies, into which Madagascar and Formosa, from linguistic necessity, have been incorporated. . . . Any attempt to draw the line at a narrower margin failed"; so the book covers "that great Civilization which occupies the vast space betwixt Persia and China." In the Introduction the labours of some of the great toilers in the field of philology are noticed, and we think that the list might be improved. Especially we notice the absence of the name of H. H. Wilson. We are aware that the scholarship of this great Sanskritist is now disparaged by some men, and it may be admitted that knowledge has travelled fast and far beyond the bounds which he had reached; but no philologist ought ever to forget the vast services he rendered to the science by the compilation of his Sanskrit Dictionary, a work which was for more than a quarter of a century the mainstay of Sanskrit scholars, and was at the elbow of every man who studied Indian philology, or compiled dictionaries of Indian languages. We observe, too, that Mr. Cust says, in p. 2, that "to Erskine Perry we are indebted for the first idea of a language map of India"; but according to his own showing in p. 9, Lassen published such a map in 1853, and that of Erskine Perry appeared only in 1854. As Mr. Cust evidently attaches some importance to this language map, we may observe that we have before us a coloured language map of the whole of India, "ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th June, 1853," and that there is a map of the languages of Southern India in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1846, so that a language map was more than an idea long before the map appeared to which the palm of priority is given. Mr. Cust is very modest in his account of his work, and has depreciated his own labour; for at least the introductory and concluding chapters are from his pen. He says:—"I can scarcely claim a word or a line as my own; my book is essentially a compilation. . . . I have attempted to make my narrative perfectly colourless as regards my own views." This is a perfectly correct description of the body of the work, which treats of the various languages as grouped in families and classes. It is next to an impossibility for any man to grasp all the linguistic peculiarities, and to give from his own knowledge a clear and sufficient account of the many languages, which this book passes under review. No less than 243 distinct languages and 296 dialects are set forth in the tables. Of these the Aryan languages of India are 16, and their dialects 133 in number. The Dravidian languages number 14, and their dialects 30; the Kolarian 10 languages and 5 dialects; the Tibeto-Burman 87 languages and 84 dialects; the Khasi (borders of Assam) one language and 5 dialects; the Tai (Siamese) 7 languages and 6 dialects; the Mon-Anam (Peguan) 20 languages and 4 dialects; and the Malayan languages of the Indian Archipelago are set down as 38 and their dialects as 29. These tables are, no doubt, open to modifications and additions. Differences of opinion may also well be held as to the distinction between languages and dialects, respecting which no hard and fast line can be drawn. On this point Mr. Cust observes:—

It is obvious that Portuguese and Spanish rank as sister-languages, while Venetian and Tuscan are only dialects of the parent Italian. We shall find, as we proceed, the difficulty, from lack of diagnosis, of deciding whether Panjábi and Nepálése are dialects of Hindi or sister-languages. But in dealing with forms of unwritten and uncultivated speech new difficulties arise; for clusters of clans are found speaking varying, yet obviously kindred languages; and it is a great practical difficulty whether these variations, in the absence of any superior or literary standard, are to be classed

* *A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies, accompanied by Two Language-Maps.* By Robert N. Cust, late of Her Majesty's India Civil Service and Honorary Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: T. B. & C. 1879.

as languages or dialects. Again, clusters of tribes are found bearing one general name; and yet, upon inquiry, it is found that the component members speak totally different and mutually unintelligible languages.

The difficulty of settling this question of language or dialect is exemplified in that very familiar language, the Urdu or Hindustani. The Aryan languages are now tolerably well known to us; but, while the majority of philologists include the Hindustani in that class, there are some who place it among the Dravidian or find it in some impress of Dravidian influence. Mr. Cust says it "is not a territorial dialect, but a lingua franca," and it seems "essentially a dialect of Hindi." Another writer calls it a "Mixed Hindi Language"; and Kellogg, the author of the last new Hindi grammar, maintains that there is a difference betwixt Hindi and Hindustani, not only in vocabulary, but in grammatical forms and syntax. In this he is perfectly accurate, but whether these differences make it a distinct language or only a dialect remains an open question which may receive different answers. The language contains, as Mr. Cust says, about fifty per cent. of loan words; but the assertion that it "incorporates phrases and grammatical inflections to a great extent" remains to be proved. It certainly contains a few very suspicious resemblances to Dravidian forms which the upholders of the Aryan classification have striven, and not altogether successfully, to explain; but the idea of one language incorporating the grammatical forms of another has hitherto been a philological heresy, although it seems to be gaining strength. Another example of the strange diversity of opinion respecting the relationship of languages has been shown in respect of the Tamil language of Southern India. This is the leading and typical language of the Dravidian family. It has been much cultivated, it is rich in its grammatical forms, and it is the one which is the main reliance of the many philologists who maintain that the Dravidian tongues are distinct from the Aryan. Yet one of the most accomplished Tamil scholars of the day has declared and reiterated his opinion that "the more the Dravidian languages are studied the closer their affinity to Sanskrit will appear, and the more evident will it appear that they have a primitive and original relationship to Aryan." These are but specimens of the conflicting opinions which prevail respecting the affinity of languages. They can only be settled by sound scientific principles and rules as to what constitutes affinity. It is the business of the science of philology to provide these. But philology is a young science; it is progressive, not settled; and, although it has accomplished great things, it has probably greater triumphs in prospect. To achieve these it must be studied on a broad scale. A comparison of the peculiarities of two or more languages is valuable, but such comparisons are contributions to the science rather than the science itself. This can only be reached by the study of language on the most comprehensive scale; for languages in the early stages of growth, though far removed and entirely distinct from others in a more advanced stage, sometimes show, and more frequently suggest, the processes through which the latter have passed.

The book before us is, then, a valuable contribution to philosophical science. It passes under review a vast number of languages, and it gives, or professes to give, in every case the sum and substance of the opinions and judgments of the best-informed writers. It is a repertory of philology rather than a manual; a record of what has been accomplished which is very suggestive of what remains to be accomplished. Mr. Cust has very wisely kept his own opinions as much as possible in the background, and has made no attempt to mould the various opinions into any settled system. Differences of opinion and diversities of principle appear in various parts of the book, but from these conflicts the truth will be eventually elicited. The author has spared no pains in searching for authorities. The books which have been written on these Eastern tongues are very numerous and in many languages, but the articles which have appeared in the publications of the learned Societies of Europe and Asia are far more numerous, and many of them are imperfectly known. Mr. Cust has hunted all these up with great diligence, and he has sought the assistance of scholars when he has found the published information deficient. This is especially the case with the Malayan languages, for which he acknowledges valuable aid received from two learned Professors whom he went over to Leyden to consult. The Appendices supply some most useful information. There are two excellent Language Maps, a Table of Languages, and a List of Authorities on each Language, two distinct Indexes, and a List of Translations of the Bible in the Languages of the East Indies. This last calls for more than a mere passing notice. Mr. Cust is warm in the tribute he pays to the services rendered by missionaries to the science of language. They were among the earliest, and have been among the most earnest and successful, students of unknown languages. There is no doubt a good deal of truth in the sarcasm that "missionaries preach and few understand their preaching," but the linguistic acquirements of many of them have been of a very high order, and they have exercised an influence over the formation and settlement of languages such as has never fallen to the lot of any other body of men. The Holy Scriptures translated by missionaries are the only written records of many languages, and can hardly fail of exercising a considerable influence over the development of them as the unlettered races who speak them advance in civilization.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

THE stream of Goethe's letters (1) seems perennial; but it must be allowed that each successive publication, even when apparently slight in subject and insignificant in compass, contains something to justify its appearance. This is certainly the case with the latest addition to the list, the correspondence of Goethe with Sophie Laroche and her granddaughter, the celebrated Bettina von Arnim. No individual letter, perhaps, possesses extraordinary interest; but, taken altogether, along with the editor's annotations, they form an interesting chapter in Goethe's private history, while there is something very pleasing in the maintenance of friendly, and even affectionate, feeling between the veteran poet and the Laroche family for three generations. His relations with Sophie Laroche were purely amicable; she was considerably his senior, and had gained her modest literary celebrity before his career as an author had well begun. An intimate and rather sentimental friend of Wieland's, she was drawn from her allegiance by the brilliancy of the new star, somewhat to the displeasure of her old admirer. Goethe's letters to her, supplemented by Herr von Loepel's diligence, afford many interesting glimpses of the literary circumstances of the time. The tendency of Goethe's writings gradually estranged her; and she may not have been altogether satisfied with the literary use he made of his acquaintance with her daughter, the beautiful Maximiliane Brentano. This lady, it now appears, exerted an influence upon *Werther* only second, if second, to that of Charlotte Kestner herself. Goethe showed his good sense and right feeling by breaking off an intimacy which had become dangerous; but he could only succeed by giving his emotions a permanent expression in a literary form. Forty years later nearly the same situation recurred, but the situations of the personages were reversed. Maximiliane's daughter Bettina conceived an attachment for Goethe curiously compounded of the filial and the sentimental, but with which whim and vanity, it is not uncharitable to conjecture, had quite as much to do as genuine feeling. Goethe's conduct was kind, wise, and considerate; if any doubts have been entertained on this point they have arisen from Bettina's inexcusable conduct in tampering with the contents and the dates of his letters, and representing poems as suggested by herself which were demonstrably inspired by other persons. Herr von Loepel makes the best apology he can for her, and shows that Goethe's correspondence with her was not a mere fiction, as has been naturally suspected; but he throws no light on the question—How many of the eloquent rhapsodies which she represents herself as pouring out to Goethe were really addressed to him?

The negotiations of the Medici with France during the fifteenth century (2) make an interesting chapter in Italian history, but hardly so interesting a one as might have been expected. For the greater part of this period the influence of France on Italian politics was remote and purely diplomatic, and the keynote of the negotiations on the side of the Medici is given less by their wish to secure France as an ally for their Republic than by their anxiety for their private financial and commercial interests. Numbers of Florentine subjects were settled in France as merchants or manufacturers, and the prosperity of the Medici's bank at Lyons depended upon the countenance and protection of the French King. The merchant and banker were thus frequently compelled to take steps of which the politician disapproved. Politically, their cardinal maxim was to preserve the alliance with Milan bequeathed by the founder of the Medicean and Sforzana greatness to their descendants. When Piero de' Medici, undoubtedly under great pressure, broke with Milan and threw himself into the arms of France, he brought about the temporary downfall of his family. In fact, however, as Herr Buser remarks, the traditional see-saw policy of the house of Medici was worn out, and the astuteness of Lorenzo himself would hardly have averted the catastrophe.

The articles in which the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (3) has discussed the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin were well worth reprinting. They are evidently the composition of an experienced and well-informed publicist, and discuss every phase of the Eastern question, especially those—such as the status of Roumania and the Austrian occupation of Bosnia—which possess especial interest for Germany and Austria, but of which we in this country are too apt to lose sight. The text of the treaties is appended. The writer's anticipations of the stability of the Berlin arrangements are by no means sanguine.

In undertaking to furnish biographical notices of distinguished Jewish women Dr. Kayserling (4) has lighted upon an attractive subject, and by skilful execution has made a very agreeable volume. Between Christian and Jewish prejudices, ladies of Hebrew race have until lately hardly had a fair chance of obtaining literary distinction, and it is no fault of theirs or Dr. Kayserling's if he is obliged to eke out this department of his muster

(1) *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano, nebst dichterischen Beilagen.* Herausgegeben von G. von Loepel. Berlin: Hertz. London: Williams & Norgate.

(2) *Die Beziehungen der Mediceer zu Frankreich während der Jahre 1434-1494.* Von B. Buser. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. London: Williams & Norgate.

(3) *Zur Beleuchtung des Frieden-Präliminar-Vertrages etc.* Separat-Abdruck aus der *Allgemeinen Zeitung*. Stuttgart und Augsburg: Cotta. London: Williams & Norgate.

(4) *Die Jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst.* Von M. Kayserling. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Williams & Norgate.

roll with obscure, though respectable, names, chiefly of minor religious writers. Rahel and Fanny Lewald in Germany, Grace Aguilar, and numerous members of the Rothschild, Goldschmidt, and Montefiore families in England, however, are genuine ornaments to his pages. The most interesting part of the volume, nevertheless, is that relating to the Jewish women who have distinguished themselves in action. Among these may be cited the Asmonean princesses, Donna Gracia Nasi, "the Esther of the sixteenth century," and Sarah, the romantic but not very honest bride of the false Messiah, Sabbathai Sevi. Several affecting histories of martyrdom are also related by Herr Kayserling, and his chapter on the women of the Talmud shows the ability of the Jewish woman to acquire knowledge and even learning in spite of every legal and social discouragement.

The author of *Ethiopia* (5) was for two years manager of a mercantile establishment on the Gaboon river, and his "Studies on West Africa" relate rather to the commercial development of the country than to its geography or natural products. Many interesting particulars on the latter points may nevertheless be gleaned from it, and on his own particular subject his observations are generally to the point, though losing much of their effect from the desultory manner in which they are presented. He thinks favourably of the Africans on the whole, but considers that physical compulsion cannot be dispensed with in their present state of civilization. It should be added that the district he describes offers especial obstacles to European enterprise, owing to the great number of petty independent chiefs requiring to be conciliated.

Dr. Schliemann exhumes Priam; Dr. Sepp (6) would fain do as much for Barbarossa. His difficulty is the reverse of his contemporary's; for while Dr. Schliemann would be admitted to have found Priam if one could only be sure that he had found Troy, Dr. Sepp excavates an incontestable Tyre for a problematical sepulchre. It does not seem quite certain that Barbarossa was buried at Tyre at all; and in any case the translation of his ashes to Germany would hardly, as Dr. Sepp thinks, excite an enthusiasm comparable to that attending the restoration of the remains of Napoleon. If, however, Dr. Sepp's search for Barbarossa (who should surely have been looked for in the Kyffhäuser) has not been attended with success, it has at all events enabled him to pick up many curious facts connected with various epochs of the history of Tyre, and especially its condition under the Crusaders. The remains of mediæval Tyre are not inconsiderable, and Dr. Sepp can offer interesting views of the ruins of the cathedral, which he thinks Germany ought to rebuild as a national monument, minus two enormous columns of syenite which ought to be erected at Berlin in the fashion of Cleopatra's Needle. Other ruined churches at Ramleh and Lydda exhibit a suggestive fusion of Christian and Saracenic architecture, and minor plates display characteristic fragments of various styles of art, and landscapes instinct with a peculiar Syrian feeling, half-classical, half-Oriental.

Professor Stüsemühl's edition of Aristotle's *Politics* (7) is one of the most important among recent editions of the Greek classics, and will form an epoch in the literary history of this invaluable but difficult book. It is remarkable for its comprehensiveness and the amount of matter compressed into a neat and portable form. In the first place are ample prolegomena, comprising a critical account of the text, and an exhaustive, yet condensed, exposition of the purpose and contents of the treatise. The text itself follows, with a critical commentary, and a German version on the opposite page. The second volume contains an exceedingly minute analysis of the work, with a division into sections—a most welcome guide through its intricacies. These are followed by an exegetical commentary, not merely aiming at making Aristotle's meaning clear, but discussing the various questions so abundantly suggested by his pregnant text, with freedom and copiousness, yet with exemplary brevity. Few classics have in our time been edited in a style so acceptable and useful to serious students of every description, whether learned or unlearned.

Two volumes on metaphysical philosophy, by Dr. H. Wolff, propound a system of realism, a phase of thought not generally popular in Germany. In his first volume Dr. Wolff (8) endeavours to prove that the transcendental idealism of Kant leads to absolute uncertainty. In the second he strives to show that the results of philosophical realism are in harmony with the teachings of modern physical science.

The first volume of Dr. Windelband's history of modern speculative philosophy (9), bringing it down to Kant, if not distinguished by any striking originality, is still a work of great merit—thoughtful, lucid, and impartial. English readers will have every reason to be satisfied with the treatment of the representatives of English philosophy.

One of the most important of these is the theme of a volume by

(5) *Ethiopia*. Studien über West-Afrika. By Dr. Hübbe-Schleiden. Hamburg: Friederichsen. London: Nutt.

(6) *Meerfahrt nach Tyrus, zur Ausgrabung der Kathedrale mit Barbarossa's Grab*. Von Prof. Dr. Sepp. Leipzig: Schemann. London: Williams & Norgate.

(7) *Aristotele's Politik*. Griechisch und Deutsch und mit sacer-klichen Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Dr. Franz Stüsemühl. 2 The. Leipzig: Engelmann. London: Williams & Norgate.

(8) *Spekulation und Philosophie*. Von Dr. H. Wolff. 2 Bde. Berlin: Denicke. London: Williams & Norgate.

(9) *Die Geschichte des neuerer Philosophie*. Von Dr. W. Windelband. Bd. 1. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. London: Williams & Norgate.

Dr. von Gizeyki on Hume in his character of an ethical philosopher, viewed principally in his relation to his predecessors and followers (10). The treatment is somewhat discursive, and the commentator occasionally seems to lose sight too long of his text. The most original feature of the book is the analysis of Hume's obligations to Shaftesbury, whom Dr. von Gizeyki has in a former work introduced, or rather re-introduced, to the German public.

An encyclopædia of natural science (11), appearing under the editorship of Dr. G. Jäger and other eminent naturalists and physicists, promises to be a valuable, as it is certainly in many respects a noteworthy, publication. It does not follow the alphabetical method of arrangement, but is to be divided into sections, each devoted to some particular branch of science, and comprising a number of minor treatises destined ultimately to form a whole. The distinguishing feature of the undertaking is its character as an exponent of Darwinian ideas—a decided advantage as regards unity of execution, whatever may be the intrinsic value of the opinions thus advocated. A volume of the botanical section opens the series, and is occupied by essays on two subjects which naturalists of the Darwinian school have made especially their own—the mutual relations of flowers and insects, and insectivorous plants. The fascinating story of the manner in which flowers array themselves in bright colours to attract insects, and in which insects in their turn fertilize and develop plants, already made so attractive to English readers in the pages of Dr. Kerner, Miss Buckley, and Mr. Grant Allen, is further illustrated by Dr. Hermann Müller. Dr. Müller's interesting essay is enriched by observations, hitherto unpublished, made by his brother, Fritz Müller, in Brazil. Among Dr. Müller's own contributions to the subject is a record of the number of visits paid to plants by insects of different orders, from which it appears that, while the insects of the bee tribe visiting plants of the order Composite form nearly seventy-five per cent. of the whole, the proportion visiting umbelliferous plants in no case exceeds fourteen per cent. It is a curious instance of the modification of ideas effected by the pursuit of natural science to find Dr. Müller remarking quite naturally that certain flowers which lay themselves out to attract wasps are obviously adapted "an einen ästhetisch weniger ausgebildeten Besucherkreis." The second essay, on insectivorous plants, by Dr. Drude, although less elaborate, is no less entertaining. The value of each is enhanced by a list of books relating to the subject.

"The Struggle for Existence in Heaven" (12) has nothing to do with the wars of the seraphim and the rebel angels, but is professedly an attempt to apply the theory of Darwin to astronomical phenomena. In fact, however, no novel generalization seems to be attempted, and the writer hardly gets beyond the usual explanations of the formation, development, and decay of the celestial systems on strictly mechanical principles. The originality is rather in the style, which is clear and lively in an eminent degree.

Mr. Ernst von Bunsen's volume on the religious symbolism of the Pleiades and the Zodiac (13) in general brings together a great number of curious facts relating to ancient mythology and astronomy, and is much less disfigured by fanciful analogy and extravagant conjecture than most of the author's writings. The subject cannot be ignored, from its important bearing on chronology and the history of religious belief. It is pretty evident, for instance, from the important part assigned to the Bull and the opposite constellation, the Scorpion or Serpent, in ancient theologies, that these must have taken shape while the equinoctial points were in Taurus and Scorpio—i.e. between 4698 and 2540 B.C. Mr. von Bunsen's pages teem with particulars equally curious, if not always equally authentic.

Herr F. Baethgen (14) publishes, in Syriac and German, a version in the former language of the Seven Wise Masters, which, the original Sanscrit being for the present lost, he considers to be the oldest accessible recension of this popular story. It bears internal evidence of having been made from an Arabic version, now lost, which existed as early as 956 A.D.

Windisch's compendious Irish grammar (15), founded principally upon the works of Zeus, Ebel, and Stokes, relates mainly to the ancient form of the language, and seems concise and useful.

Herr Julius Rodenberg's novel, *The Grandidiers* (16), is one of the easiest and pleasantest to read that Germany has lately given us, interesting in story and elegant in style. The narrative is probable, and the dialogue very skilfully managed, with none of the interminable set harangues with which German novelists so frequently afflict us. The characters are extremely natural, and the elder Grandidier in particular is an admirable portrait of the typical French Huguenot, with his sterling worth and harmless foibles. The weakest part of the book is its appeal to a spurious

(10) *Die Ethik David Hume's in ihrer geschichtlichen Stellung*. Von Dr. G. von Gizeyki. Breslau: Köthler. London: Williams & Norgate.

(11) *Encyclopædie der Naturwissenschaften*. Herausgegeben von Dr. G. Jäger, Dr. A. Kennigott, &c. Abth. I. Lief. I. Handbuch der Botanik. Bd. I. Breslau: Trewendt. London: Nutt.

(12) *Der Kampf um's Dasein am Himmel*. Von Dr. Karl Freiherr du Prel. Berlin: Denicke. London: Coleckmann.

(13) *Der Plejaden und der Thierkreis, oder, das Geheimniß der Symbole*. Von E. von Bunsen. Berlin: Mitscher & Röstell. London: Coleckmann.

(14) *Sindbad, oder die Sieben Weisen Meister*. Syrisch und Deutsch. Von F. Baethgen. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London: Williams & Norgate.

(15) *Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik*. Mit Lesestücken. Von E. Windisch. Leipzig: Hirzel. London: Williams & Norgate.

(16) *Die Grandidiers*. Von Dr. J. Rodenberg. 3. Bde. Stuttgart: Hallberger. London: Coleckmann.

national sentiment in connexion with the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which introduces a note of political discord into a dénouement that would otherwise have satisfied everybody.

The *Rundschau* (17) publishes extracts of considerable interest from an early and unfinished work of Marshal von Moltke, who in 1846 was occupied with a survey of the Campagna of Rome. Neither the survey nor the text of the intended work was completed; but the latter, so far as it is extant, is well worth reading as a model of lucid and concise scientific statement. The portion published in the present number relates to the geology of the Campagna, and affords striking evidence of the rapidity with which the land has gained upon the sea even in historical times. Dr. Brandes's chapters on the early career of Lord Beaconsfield are concluded. They relate principally to his *début* as a politician. F. Dingelstedt, looking back from his present settled position on the vicissitudes of his career as a manager at Munich, is able to describe with zest what was often the reverse of enjoyable at the time. His Munich engagement was nevertheless distinguished by many eminent successes, but encountered a heavy disaster in the outbreak of cholera in 1854. There are also a good novelette by Theodor Storn, and an interesting account by Dubois-Reymond of Herr Sachs, the promising young naturalist who returned safely from an expedition to Venezuela to perish the other day in an Alpine climb.

The *Russian Review* (18) has three articles of great statistical importance—the Russian Budget for 1879, the progress in the redemption of the communal lands up to 1878, and the commercial statistics of the Empire for 1877. An article of more interest for general readers describes the travels of Peter the Great. The first instalment is chiefly occupied with the reasons which induced Peter to undertake the journey and his arrangements for the administration of his Empire during his absence, and brings the actual expedition only to Riga, where he appears to have encountered a very cool reception.

(17) *Deutsche Rundschau*. Herausgegeben von Julius Rodenberg. Jahrg. v. Hft. 6. Berlin: Paetel. London: Trübner & Co.

(18) *Russische Revue. Monatschrift für die Kunde Russlands*. Herausgegeben von C. Röttger. Jahrg. viii. Hft. 1. St. Petersburg: Schmitzendorff. London: Siegle.

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